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## INFORMATION REPORT INFORMATION REPORT

## CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY

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Two reports, consisting of 107 pages of general information on political prisons in Moscow, prison camps in the Vorkuta and Dubrava areas, and morale and public opinion in the USSR

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When you <sup>are</sup> first drive<sup>up</sup> to the Lubyanka, proper, you do not ~~see~~ <sup>at first</sup> have any idea of <sup>the place to which</sup> ~~where~~ you are going. You are driven to the gates, the car stops, you hear the clank of bolts. From this clanging you ascertain that there are two gates which are not made of solid iron; although several different courtyards lead from the Lubyanka to the inner courtyards of the Ministry of Security, <sup>state</sup> there are certain gates through which prisoners are always brought. They do not consist of solid metal plates but of separate steel bars. ~~When~~ <sup>are</sup> the vehicle proceeds. You <sup>are</sup> drive<sup>into</sup> the inner court yard. You hear someone approach your driver; a conversation takes place in a low tone, which you usually do not hear; you know only that a transfer is taking place. You, upon receipt, are handed over to the proper prison official, who at the same time collects your accompanying papers and goes with them to the office under which you are listed and which summoned you to the Ministry of Security in Moscow. A certain official, dressed in the usual uniform of a prison overseer <sup>[nadziratel']</sup>, approaches you and in a low voice asks your first and family names, and leads you down the stairs into a basement room. This is the so-called reception-detention room. It is very brilliantly lit; there, a certain official, clad in a white coat, asks you to undress. You undress, take off all your clothes. The stock question is asked whether you have any stabbing or cutting objects - this means do you have any knives or razors; ordinarily, a prisoner, of course, does not have these, but any prisoner, before arriving here, goes through 10 extremely detailed and thorough searches. Then they take away all your clothes. You are stripped to the skin; sometimes this can be very unpleasant because the reception-detention room is cold. Your clothes are thoroughly examined, especially the thick places such as cotton linings, etc.; seams are ripped up with a knife in order that it should be impossible to hide anything in this way and that it should be hard and difficult to carry any kind of notes or anything on your person. Then, all your things are gathered up and placed in a special bag to which a tag is attached, and sent to be disinfected.

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You then receive the standard uniform consisting of a neatly-laundered ~~shirt~~<sup>tunic</sup>, trousers, high shoes, cap, and sometimes an overcoat or something else. Then you are sent to the so-called "box". What is the box? The box is a small room. "Box" is English for "korobka". It is actually a box made of wood. It is of very small dimensions, a small cabinet; sometimes less than a square meter; sometimes <sup>with</sup> an area of a square meter, <sup>with</sup> a normal room height; the width is sometimes a meter and less, <sup>[if less]</sup> ~~the width~~ <sup>with a</sup> length of two or three meters. The boxes are quite varied. You are seated in this box, which sometimes has a bench for sitting, sometimes not; at this time the prison doctor appears, a woman from Central Asia, who examines you fairly thoroughly and asks what ailments or complaints you have. Then the person who commanded your convoy and brought you to the Lubyanka from some other city or oblast usually enters the box. He usually asks whether you have any complaints about the convoy. This is a routine, meaningless question, and whether you say you have or not, your fate and circumstances are not altered.

That's how it was with me. After all these formalities, I was taken to the baths. This is obligatory. You are washed, and, if you have hair, it is cropped close; after this; you are now a fully privileged prisoner, if it is possible to use such an expression, and have arrived, so to speak, in prison. You really have no rights-except one, it is true, to obey.

After my bath, I was put back in the box. This time the overseer appeared. People speak there in low tones. If you inadvertently speak loudly, then you are told that one must speak softly here, the more softly the better. They are afraid that another prisoner might hear you and discover from your voice that prisoner so-and-so had arrived here. You are asked in a low voice your full name and year of birth. When you have answered all this, you are told what is desired of you. I was told in this case at the interrogation. This was very rapid and unexpected.

In the interrogation, as in every prison, you are handled in a standard procedure, which is observed in all prisons of the Soviet Union. Namely you are obliged to keep your hands behind your back; to let one's hands

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hang loosely is not ~~the same~~ <sup>permitted.</sup> The guard on duty who accompanies you holds you by the right arm. In the other hand he usually holds the key to the box or the cell where you are located. According to the rules of all interrogation <sup>(s)adstvennyye</sup> prisons of the Soviet Union, no prisoner is permitted to meet another prisoner. Thus it was that after having spent a total of two and a half years in prisons, I never saw a single prisoner. Prisoners with whom I had served also said that they, too, had never managed to see anyone.

This is the way you are handled. You are led to a corner and told: Stand with your face to the wall. You stand there. Then the guard on duty glances around the corner to prevent the possibility of another prisoner being brought into your presence. If anyone is being brought there, he gives a peculiar signal - i.e. - he strikes his belt-buckle with the key or makes very unpleasant sounds like the croaking of a frog. After this, the one coming into your presence is placed in a box. The boxes are distributed at specified distances along all corridors and all rooms of both the Ministry of State Security and the interior prison. Then you are led past. You are brought to the ~~cell~~ <sup>office</sup> where you had been called. Later I found out that the greatest hatred among the prisoners is reserved for the so-called prison overseers. They usually wear gray-khaki uniforms, very unpresentable generally, rough military boots and blue <sup>u</sup> shoulder ~~boards~~ <sup>boards.</sup> This signifies that they are staff employees of the Ministry of State Security, formerly the Ministry of Internal Affairs. In prison jargon, the prisoners call the guards "vertukhai". This is derived from the slang expression, "ne vertukhat'sya", that is, "do not turn around," stand quietly, which they often use. The common criminals call the guards by the still more contemptuous nickname of "musor" [rubbish]. One might say, for example, that when [I did such and such] "the musor flogged me and I got 5 days in the lock-up." This is a common expression. Well, this particular "vertukhai" leads you along the corridors. First of all, you reach the so-called boundary. This is the boundary between the Ministry of State Security and the prison. The internal prison at the Lubyanka, the so-called Lubyanka 2,

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where I <sup>was</sup> located, is, like all prisons, under the administrative authority of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and not the Ministry of State Security. Well, you reach the boundary. The boundary is a large room between two stairways; here a clock hangs and here, on a table, lies the so-called "iron book". This is an ordinary book, more accurately, a magazine, rather large and jacketed in metal. In the metal are two openings - on the left is the larger opening; on the right, the smaller one. Taking care of the book while I was there was a woman, who was well known and had been doing this work for a very long time, about 50 years old, with an unpleasant, tired face. When you are brought there, you are told, "Stand with your face to the wall." You stand. She asks: name and surname - i.e., first name, patronymic, and surname, and year of birth. She records this in the large opening. Then she looks at the clock. This means the time that you left the inner prison, i.e., left the authority of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and have now come under the authority and territory of the Ministry of State Security. After this, in the small opening, you place your signature.

Now you have passed into the Ministry of State Security and the "vertukhai" leads you on further. You are placed on an elevator. There are 2 elevators, one of which moves in the prison from the top floor down; the other is in the Ministry. The elevator in the Ministry is very elaborate, paneled with red wood. You are stood against the wall in the elevator. He presses the appropriate button and [the elevator] rises straight to the proper floor. He goes out. I was paying my first visit to room 694 on the 6th floor.

Now I would like to say a few words concerning what the Ministry of State Security represents. The Ministry of State Security, if it may be so expressed, is a government within a government according to its organization. The building is a veritable castle. Thus do the Germans call it - Hochburg [fortress]. This is really a peculiar building. In the first place, it is

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not connected in any way with other buildings. It has its own electrical power supply, its own water supply, its own telephone station, radio station and incinerator. This building is the building of the former "Rossiya" Insurance Company, which, if I am not mistaken, was four-storied. Subsequently, two stories were added, then, I believe, one more. Later the lateral wings were added. The construction of the additions went on during the entire period of the Soviet regime and ultimately, after the war, [was continued] by German war prisoners. A huge building was built, with its façade, in so far as it is possible to speak of a façade, facing so-called Marshlevskaya Street (?). This structure is 10 [10] stories high, built in modern style. All Muskovites know very well that in the so-called Lubyanka, the lights never go out day or night. It is the watchful eye of the revolution. It houses the brain of the country which protects the power of the rulers from the wrath of the people. It is said that every 24-hour period from four to six thousand people work in the Ministry of State Security. In spite of the vast dimensions of the building, the endless number of rooms, halls, etc., there is not enough room. There are four or five workers in almost every room. The private offices have only the highest workers, and only those who by the nature of the work are totally indispensable. Let us say that someone has to hold long conversations or negotiations with someone, during which no one under any circumstances must be present.

And so I was brought into the office of the official who had summoned me; you don't usually know at the beginning who it was who had summoned you. The delivery is carried out in the following manner: The guard who has escorted you - the vertukhay - knocks on the door. He is given permission to enter. He leads you in, enters with you. In no event does he leave you in the corridor. Then the one who had summoned you writes out a small note containing your full name and year of birth, signs it,

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and hands it over to your escorting official. This means that the official has delivered you and is no longer responsible for you. This is done so that if anything should happen to you either during an escape attempt or anything of the sort, it will be clear later who had the responsibility for you at that particular time.

And so, the interrogation begins, as follows:

It is necessary to repeat that, as a rule, prisoners are always summoned for interrogation at night. At night the ability of the individual to resist is reduced, the person is more nervous, and a word might slip out of him that may eventually ruin him or have some extremely valuable significance for the organs. Interrogations take place at night. It is necessary to say that if the interests of the interrogation or interests of the conversation with you require it, the interrogators will not shrink from any means. Ordinarily, no one tries to intimidate you at first. When I entered the office, I had a peculiar experience. I expected anything but what actually happened. I entered, and fell into an embrace. A certain medium-sized man, dressed in a ~~pretty~~ rather dissheveled civilian suit, of obviously Oriental features, as later turned out, an Azerbaydzhani, had simply grabbed me in an embrace, seated <sup>me</sup> in a sofa, and said, [redacted] 25X1

[redacted] don't be alarmed, don't resent us, we have only done 25X1

our duty, but you too have fulfilled your duty, and all this is fine. He literally wept and there were tears in his eyes. With my inherent actor's mimicry, I too shed a tear and at first did not grasp a thing, but then became very frightened because I was now experienced enough to know that the better you are treated, the worse your situation is. I was seated on the sofa and a conversation was begun on how I had arrived, what complaints I had, whether I was sick, why I was so thin, why life had treated me so poorly, how was my mother feeling. He just about asked how the canary in the apartment that I used to have was doing. Just then a so-called waitress appeared, a young girl, rather pretty, in a white coat, white neckerchief,

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carrying a magnificent, so-called ministerial, dinner of pork chops. There was also brynza [cheese], I'll have you know, several slices of orange, coffee and sugar, and sour milk, - everything that I, who <sup>was</sup> starved in my tracks, and hardly able to stand on my feet from hunger, ate literally with ecstasy. Afterwards I started on the second such meal. The interrogator was earnestly <sup>I</sup> afraid that I would gorge myself and get sick.

The conversation continued for several hours. This was a very pleasant conversation, and gave the impression that this was not the Lubyanka or a secret police interrogation, but simply a Sunday . . . . . After this, he dialed the proper telephone number, and in a few minutes the guard appeared and said to me, go, rest, sleep, you must spend a few days in the box until we have selected your room, everything will be fine, etc, etc, etc. He gave me a stack of paper and a pencil in order that I might write any statements if I decided to say anything to him. He said to me, "Do not worry  your life has now taken a different course.

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"You will live, in any case, much better than you lived before." I must say that he really kept his promise. My life took a different course - this was the first half [of the promise], but the second half—that I would live much better—was alas, not fulfilled.

Then I went back the same way, observing the same formalities. Again I reached the iron book, again the time of my return from the Ministry of State Security to the interior Lubyanka prison was supplied. I signed, passed on, and looked at the woman standing at the boundary as at an old acquaintance. After having, so to speak, landed in the box, I saw that my supper had already been brought. The food was very bad. There was an iron tureen of soup, in which were approximately 2 potatoes, a little fat and some groats. Secondly, there were about 150 grams of foul kasha with a slight suspicion of fat and two lumps of sugar. It was explained to me that I was allotted, if I am not mistaken, 14 grams of sugar per day. Why precisely 14, instead of 15 or 17, no one, of course, can say clearly.

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I stayed in the box approximately two days. I was allowed to rest, and afterwards I was suddenly told: get your things together. I knew that this meant I was being transferred to another place. And, indeed, I was transferred to a <sup>cell,</sup> ~~room~~ which henceforth was to be my home. This was a room on the fifth floor of the interior prison of the Lubyanka, in the so-called "nobleman's department". The prison has six floors. The first four floors, are considered the floors for commoners [sic], the top upper two floors, the fifth and sixth, the nobleman's floors, because here usually are kept the prisoners who are considered the most important. On the sixth floor are the soft rooms. These are so-called rooms with soft [i.e., upholstered] furniture and are furnished in comparative luxury. But only the most important political prisoners land here. Here were quartered a few captured German generals and various persons. Also here, I believe, was the former commander of the Russian Liberation Army, General Vlasov. Also here were von Paulus and people generally on the highest scale. A common criminal, even the most notorious, is, of course, never under any circumstances found there.

There are 118 cells in Lubyanka. When you enter the 5th floor, which is a throughway and is divided from the 6th floor by only a steel net, to discourage prisoners from committing suicide and throwing themselves into the stairway from the 6th floor and shattering themselves on the floor of the fifth floor, you see to your left, upon entering, a door and, going down a few steps towards the 5th floor, cell No 118, to the left above in a corner. This is the last cell. The cells in the Lubyanka are of different sizes. They range from cells that barely hold 2 people to cells in which can be placed 5, 6, or 7 people if the occasion warrants, but not more. These are the former hotel rooms of the "Rossiya" Insurance Company.

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I  immediately noticed that there was a rather nice young fellow there.

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I believe, a student radioman at the Moscow State University, formerly a

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prisoner in Germany. Fairly soon, in approximately a few hours, I saw perfectly that I was dealing with a so-called "nasedka" [trusty]. He asked me a few questions which certainly could not have been casual ones, although he was an individual with a sufficient amount of skill and conducted himself very precisely. Similar information that he was a "nasedka" was later confirmed. He was known pretty well in the prison. What is a "nasedka"? A "nasedka" is, as a rule, in prison jargon, a prisoner who has been in prison for a long time, in some manner enjoys the confidence of the authorities, and for the purpose of improving his own material welfare or situation, consents to work for the interrogation organs and the prison administration. He is planted next to a new inexperienced prisoner, with whom he becomes friendly and talks. Usually the secret police arrange it so <sup>that</sup> he receives packages, i.e., the most remarkable things, ostensibly from relatives, are brought into his cell, such as oranges, fruit, chocolate, and various other things. He tells you that relatives sent him those. Usually this is simply given to him by the interrogator. He shares this with you. Naturally, you are starved, you are very grateful to him for this, you begin to confide, to talk, and sometimes the secret police succeed in finding out what they could not wring out of you in any interrogation.

And now, you are in the cell. First of all, there is a window in each cell. In winter, this window is closed. Only a small vent is open. In summer, the windows are opened. In spite of this, summer in the cell is terribly oppressive. The prison, shaped like the letter "H", is in one of the courtyards of the Ministry. Around you are high stone buildings heated by the sun, and that is why terrible heat and stuffiness prevail. Persons with heart ailments often feel ill and sometimes, on particularly hot days, they even suffer heart attacks. Naturally, every prisoner would like to know who his fellow-sufferers and next-door neighbors are. Everyone wishes somehow to communicate. The thought of bribing an overseer or guard or any one else is absolutely hopeless. No one has ever claimed that he managed to get, say, a guard to pass a note into the next cell. This is too dangerous and the

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unpleasant consequences to which it exposes the guard are too great. Instead, prisoners try to communicate by tapping, although this too is noted by the prison administration. Tapping is extremely difficult and almost impossible. In the first place, they watch for this and in the event that you are caught in this deed, the lock-up threatens you - often a cold lock-up. For an emaciated, sick, and hungry prisoner, which every prisoner, as a rule is, this is a very severe punishment and can sometimes lead to diseases and severe complications. Besides this, the walls are arranged in such a way that sawdust<sup>YY</sup> spread in the hollow spaces so that you hear absolutely nothing. I, who have generally good hearing, by applying my ear when the guard did not notice, heard vague speech in the neighboring cell and then, only in one. And then I would hear German speech. To make out the words was totally impossible. Tapping also was very difficult and very long. You were continually watched. A prisoner, according to prison regulations, had a number of privileges and duties. He also has privileges and something which is forbidden to him. For example, and in the first place: the day begins at 5:30 AM. A scurrying about is heard: they get you up. You take a so-called kadka [bucket] which you use to satisfy your physical needs. In the cells proper, of course, there are no bathrooms nor facilities to take the place of a bathroom. You take this bucket and go with it into the lavatory. There you wash it, disinfect it, then wash yourself, and in a short while come back. The guard goes to the place where you have relieved yourself and washed up and looks to see whether you have written anything on the walls. If it is noticed that you have, let us say, written your name with a wet finger, it is a very serious matter. You do not have the right to do this, and it can lead to very serious consequences and penalties. Then you go into the cell. After this you are served breakfast. Breakfast consists of a small quantity of kasha and coffee. Besides this, you get your ration of bread. The prison bread ration is 650 grams of black bread of very moist, foul dough, containing, according to exact chemical analysis, no less than 40 percent water.

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So begins your day. Then begins the rounds. Your "koridornyy," i.e. the guard who watches over your corridor, comes in and looks to see what the prisoners are doing. He is accompanied by the starshina [<sup>o</sup>Forman]. This is not a "dezhurnyy" [regular guard], but a so-called koridornyy, who commands the 2 or 3 "dezhurnyye" who take care of all the cells in a given corridor. He arrives and asks: "Any questions?" And at this time you may ask questions. You may, first, ask for a sheet of paper in order to write a statement. In my time you could write a statement to anyone, from the President of the United States and Josef Vissarionovich Stalin down to the "koridornyy," or a doctor or anyone you wanted. The question, is however, - what would be the result of the written statement? You may write a complaint, you may write a statement to the prosecutor. <sup>himself.</sup> ~~and~~. After you have expressed a desire during the rounds, <sup>and</sup> expect, after some time the guard comes in and asks, "Are you going for a walk?" You can go for a walk or you need not. By rights, you are supposed to have a 15-minute walk. Counting the time spent traveling up and down in the elevator and on the stairs, or going the wrong way, you walk no longer than 10-12 minutes. This is all that you are given. If I am not mistaken, there are five exercise yards in the Lubyanka. I personally know three of them. Two of these are located on the roof of the Ministry - not the prison, but the Ministry - a large yard and a small yard. They are separated from one another by an impenetrable fence and, in addition, are surrounded by a high fence with barbed wire, so that you can not see anything that goes on in the street. You see only the topmost part of the ministry and the few floors attached to these exercise yards themselves, where some officials work. According to rumors, one of the numerous radio stations of the Lubyanka is located here. In the exercise yard you do not have the right to stand or talk with prisoners; it is feared that your voice will be heard in the neighboring exercise yard. You have to place your hands behind your back and walk continuously in a circle. Running is not permitted. At a slow or fast pace, as you wish. The guard who has

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escorted you remains in the exercise yard with you and watches what you are doing. That is the first one [i.e., guard]. In addition, a second guard, who stands on a tower, simultaneously watches what is going on in both courtyards. Always on call in the prison is such a thing as a special operational team. Thus, in the event that you begin to brawl, fight with anyone, or organize something of the sort, 5 or 6 burly <sup>fellows</sup> ~~persons~~ appear, who very quickly straighten you out. In extreme cases they will even slip a straight-jacket on you.

Then you have used up the fifteen minutes allotted you; the door is opened and the guard says politely: "Enter." And you go downstairs, the same way, sit in the elevator, and go to your floor. The elevator, the usual elevator, is of ancient construction and divided into 2 sections. The rear section which has 2 metal walls, is where you are placed and locked in, and it has a small glass window through which the guard observes what you are doing. You are packed in very tightly. Two people can be accommodated with difficulty. Three can not be accommodated at all and they are taken on foot. In the forward section stands the guard, who observes you and operates the elevator. Then you have arrived below and you are usually also searched. You are searched, it is true, superficially, for the sake of form, and after this you are again taken to your cell. The time for dinner arrives. Dinner is very scanty and poor. After living in prison without sustenance for a year or 2, you contract dystrophy under normal conditions; after 4 or 5 years [even] the most seasoned and unexacting organism is threatened with serious health disorders and, eventually, possibly even death.

At about 7 or 8 o'clock you are brought supper. Besides this in your cell you have games. For example, you can plan dominoes. You can play chess. Of course, games of chance and cards are forbidden. Books are brought to you in your cell. There is a fairly wide selection of rather good books at the Lubyanka <sup>and</sup> from the point of view of the secret police, often rather strange literature. For example, I came across a beautiful edition of Marx, and the pre-revolutionary "The Demons" by Dostoyevsky. I sometimes came across books which were forbidden on the outside. These were

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books which had been taken from arrested persons or from confiscated libraries. They are brought to the Lubyanka, so that, strange as it seems, in the inner prison at the Lubyanka you may read quasi-counter-revolutionary or in any event, undesirable - for the Soviet regime - literature, as, for example, Dostoyevsky's famous novel "The Demons".

At 10:30 comes retreat. The signal for retreat is given by blinking. In the cell the electric lights blink three times briefly. This means that you have the right to go to sleep. Your day is ended. The day is ended, but the night is begun. The vast majority of the prisoners has hardly had time to lie in bed when the cursed tinkling of the lock is heard, the guard comes in, asks your name in a low voice, and says, "Get ready for questioning." And so, cursing everything and everyone, you dress and are usually gone for the whole night. One more night is wasted for you. During the day sleeping is forbidden. This is closely watched. You not only have no right to sleep, but even to lean against the wall. You must sit upright with the hands down. You can stroll about the cell, you may walk, you may speak softly with your cellmate, but you must sit constantly facing the peephole so that your face will be visible and, in an extreme case, to turn the face sideways. As soon as you close your eyes, you hear the warning shout: "No sleeping" or "No drowsing". If you do this 2 or 3 times, the guard comes in to your cell, reprimands you, sometimes in a rather rough manner. If you fall asleep, you can be punished again and sent to the lock-up, but usually this shout, "No sleeping, no drowsing," is so unnerving that even if you do not fear the consequences of reprisal, you cannot sleep anyway. No one is allowed to sleep. Sometimes, it is <sup>true</sup> ~~true~~, prisoners, upon the permission of the interrogator, are allowed to sleep in the daytime.

I wish to say a few words further about the organization of the prison. The prison has 6 floors. It has the shape of the letter "H" and is enclosed in one of the courtyards of the Ministry of State Security. On the first floor, as a rule, are confined the women. There the cells are larger. All

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the other cells are occupied by men. The first floor, if it may be so called, i.e., it is not the first, but the semi-basement, houses technical equipment, primarily, steam baths and showers. The bath<sup>house</sup> is a small room. There are, of course, no bathtubs there. However, there is one tub used especially for sick people. You come here to the baths and can wash up. Cut into the door is a small glass window, through which the guard watches you constantly while you are washing. You can wash for 15-20 minutes. When you come, you go into <sup>the</sup> baths; you come here every week, you take with you all the bed-clothes, and you also take your underwear. You turn in your pillow case, sheet, undershirt, and drawers. And you receive all clean ones. After this, you are given a tiny cake of soap and a clean towel. You turn in the old, dirty one. You wash up, and dry yourself after this. If necessary, you are given a so-called "sanobrabotka," [hygienic treatment] i.e., hair-covered places are shaved. After this, you are returned to your cell by the same route. Also located in the semi-basement is the so-called "kleborezka" [bread cutter]. This is a small room outside facing the downstairs exercise yard; I have mentioned only the two exercise yards on the roof. There is a 3rd exercise yard downstairs, very unpleasant, uncomfortable, and small, and much worse than those upstairs. And next to it is the room where the spare iron beds are stored. This room is full of bedbugs. Thus it is that strange as it seems, despite all measures, the bedbugs customarily begin to eat you up miserably when the bed is brought in. By means of lighted matches I would busy myself, despite the protests of the guard, in driving away these bedbugs, of which, thanks to time, there were many, and in crushing them, a deed which almost landed us in the lockup because the entire floor was soiled with the stains of these crushed bedbugs.

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I would like to say a few words further about the arrangement of the ministry proper. The ministry has seven floors in some places. A new part of the Ministry, constructed after the war, has ten floors.  ~~Besides~~ <sup>Further-</sup> ~~more, rumor persists~~ <sup>that it has a semi-basement and three basements</sup> ~~this, they are insisting~~ [podval'nyye pomeshcheniya]. The lowest one is supposed to contain some kinds of laboratories and a sealed storeroom of arms, in case they are needed for defense of the ministry or for any special purposes. On the second floor are located, supposedly, chambers /kamery/ in which nobody has ever been (I personally have not been there), which are used for some special and, supposedly, frightful purposes; and finally, there is the third floor, counting from the bottom floor, which is under the semi-basement, where are located cells, a club /room/, and one of several buffets found in the Ministry, and some special cells. Once, almost at the end of my stay in the Lubyanka (I was there for eleven months), one of the interrogators became angry with me about something and said, "Look here, now, they'll take you on a tour." And they really did. I was taken through a certain corridor and handed over under receipt to a guard (nadzirtel'). I saw only that these guards who looked after the basement corridor were far better dressed than those upstairs, far healthier, and with a far more unpleasant and unsympathetic appearance. They said to me, "Look here!" They opened the peephole of a certain cell. This was a basement cell, painted a blinding white and lit by a very strong light. It could have been of three or four hundred candlepower. The whole cell was flooded with blinding light, so that it was painful even to look at it. In this cell I did not notice a thing except one stool, on which sat an elderly person, about 50, evidently German; at least, he was dressed in a German military jacket without any distinctive markings. He had a very thin, emaciated and unhappy face, and he looked gloomily and fixedly at the peephole, as if he had been

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ordered to do this. After this, my accompanying guard said to me:

"Well, what did you see? This will happen to you, too." But, ~~however~~, <sup>however</sup> nothing happened to me. They took me back the same way I had come and returned me under receipt to my regular guards (dezhurnyye), who took me back to my cell.

After I had stayed approximately eleven months in prison, one night, when I least expected it, a guard appeared and said, "What's your name?" first to someone else, then to me. I called it out. He said: "To the interrogation." I thought that I was again being taken for an interrogation, but instead of leading me to the right, he placed me in the box at the left. In about five minutes my things, which were very few, were brought in. This is usually done in order that no one in the cell will notice that a man has been removed from the cell for good and whom you will perhaps never meet again. My effects, so to speak, were brought to me, and I began the entire procedure. I realized that they were sending me either to another cell or to another place. As it turned out later, I went through the entire procedure, and I was led, after its completion, to the door, again through the detention-reception room and seated in a Black Maria. I knew that I was being taken somewhere. I was taken quite a long way, then again some bolt resounded, some iron gates were opened, and I entered some place again.

I went through the same procedure that I had undergone eleven months before in the Lubjanka. I was led away and found myself in prison. From the description of the prisoners, I realized that I had been brought to the so-called Lefortovskaya, a military regimented prison. This prison was a much more disorderly place than the inner prison of the Ministry of State Security. This was the building of an insurance company hotel, and it had not been rebuilt for prison purposes. This prison had been erected approximately 100 years ago, in the middle of the 19th century. It is built in the shape of a "K" and has three floors.

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The floors were continuous so that you could see from the top to the very bottom. Along the cells extend metal gangways approximately 75 centimeters wide. Floors are separated from each other by steel nets, so that the prisoners cannot jump and commit suicide. I would like to stipulate that the stairways at the Ministry of State Security, even those on which prisoners are never taken, as well as all the landing-stages, were enclosed in wire cages to preclude all possibility of suicide.

Lefortovskaya prison has an evil reputation. It is said that in the past, punishments were carried out in its vast cellars. It is really extremely somber, particularly the underground rooms. The cells are dark, but they have their advantages. In the first place, the cells have running water, which is a great convenience for the prisoners. On hot, stuffy, summer days you can strip to the waist, bathe, and sponge off. This is very important to you. Secondly, a flush toilet was provided. You, therefore, did not have to go out anywhere to a bathroom. This was the second advantage. Of the negative features I shall mention the fact that located in the rear is an aeronautics institute, called, I think, the TsAKI, [typographical error for TsAGI(?)]. There is a so-called wind tunnel there in which research on model aircraft is conducted. This makes a terrible racket and in especially the cells facing this direction there is no quiet, day or night. The noise is so bad that it rattles the windows. The air vents open by themselves, and it is very difficult to sleep under this condition, keeping in mind also that the blinding light in the cells is usually not turned off during the day or night.

It is interesting that the internal prison in the Lubyanka is a prison intended for interrogations. Lefortovskaya prison is also a prison for criminals under investigation. It is shaped like the letter "K" and surrounded by interrogation buildings added later in the shape of the letter "n" <sup>letter</sup> [P], as though the prison itself were inscribed in the

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interior courtyard. There were also exercise courts here, far larger than those at the Lubyanka. Here you can actually breathe fresh air. Unlike the 15-minute walks at the Lubyanka, where there was clearly not enough time, here the walks were 15-20 minutes, and sometimes the guard would allow 25 minutes--in any case, you got to breathe fresh air a little longer. The routine here was exactly the same. You got up at 0530. However, bedtime was a little earlier, at 2200, which was a great relief for the prisoners. Every half-hour of sleep was important. For that reason, when they wished, to put it mildly, to subject some prisoner to the repressive measures of interrogation, then he usually would be taken to the Lefortovskaya prison. Thus I was somewhat frightened, for physical means of action, for example, beatings, were almost never employed at the Lubyanka. Even so, the Ministry resounded with cries, wails, and this.....But if they wished to employ such methods, they usually sent you to Lefortovskaya prison, which had a very evil reputation. Here there were a larger number of more spacious offices and various devices were available. The doors in these offices, unlike those in the Lubyanka, were padded and sometimes even double. The food in the Lefortovskaya prison was exactly the same as in the inner prison. However, it sometimes happened that food was left over, and the servers would give seconds on their own initiative, a practice, which was, of course, a great help because all the prisoners were suffering from dystrophy and starvation. There it is openly declared that this is not the ministry, and the work is not conducted so efficiently. It is true that here, too, prisoners are watched very strictly so that one prisoner might not meet another. Signaling is done by flags. Because of the fact that the entire prison is a passageway, a special guard with a red and white flag is stationed in it. When your cell is opened and you are taken out, he raises a red flag in the corridor from which your cell is visible. This is a signal for the guard not to open the cells

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and take anyone else out. When you are being escorted and the danger that you will be seen has passed, he raises a white flag. This operation is performed very efficiently. I was there almost an entire year, and not once did I meet a single prisoner, and later, when in the camps and meeting others who had been there, I did not see a single one who said that he at any time and at any place in the corridors, either at the Lubyanka or in Lefortov prison, had met any prisoner.

Also taken to Lefortov Prison, as a rule, were all those prisoners who behaved badly during interrogations, i.e., in some way quarreled with the interrogator, refused to answer or talk, or, on the other hand, behaved, as they say, unstably: going on hunger strikes, writing too many declarations, brawling with other prisoners or with the guards, the personnel, or the interrogator. There are special penal cells for such prisoners at Lefortov Prison. These are rooms in the central part of the building, without windows or doors, with a cot which is screwed to the wall and retracted in the daytime, and only after retreat does the prisoner come and lower it with a key. Thus all day you are forced to stand or to sit on a stool, which is screwed to the floor. You can not read there, because they will not give you books. In the other cells, however, books are given. The cellars of Lefortov Prison enjoy a particularly fearsome reputation, because it is said that in both the past and present times executions have taken place there. Once, I managed, by accident, to see stretchers being carried out of there on which lay several sheets completely soaked with blood. As I learned afterwards, in spite of all precautions, suicide attempts still occur in the prisons rather frequently. It is amazing that some prisoners, despite the absence of any objects with which they could inflict some injury to themselves, managed nevertheless to commit suicide. I know, for example, of one prisoner's dying of heart failure. He committed suicide by holding his breath until he had a heart stroke.

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The fact that I was transferred to Lefortov Prison was a sign that I was no longer a privileged, but an especially dangerous and interesting prisoner. At the same time, however, I expected all kinds of punishments for myself. It must be mentioned that at Lefortov Prison my interrogations were stricter than at the Lubyanka. I spent many unpleasant days and hours. I was there approximately an entire year. One fine day after this I was taken from my cell, went through the entire formal procedure, and was escorted to the baths; everything was taken away from me, the things which were in storage were collected; I had a few trifles there--neckties, belt, everything which had been taken away from me and which I was not permitted to have in the cell, but *what* remained was my personal belongings. All these things were returned to me, afterwards, according to my personal folder; a prisoner is always accompanied by a folder containing his personal prison file; in it is checked his name and surname, year of birth, citizenship, etc., etc. After this, I was placed in a Black Maria and was driven somewhere. No one knew where, of course. When we arrived, one of the prisoners who had at one time worked on the road--there were about 15 prisoners from different cells riding with me--said that we had arrived at Butyrskaya prison.

Butyrskaya prison is one of the largest prisons in the Soviet Union. It contains an average of at least 20,000 prisoners. It is a whole conglomeration of structures and buildings, from the famous Pugachev tower, which was built during the reign of Catharine the Great and in which the famous Yemel'yan Pugachev sat and awaited his execution, to the completely modern structures with large and small cells, and there is also an interrogation building in Butyrskaya Prison. There is also even a building there for common criminals. On the average there are from 20,000 to 25,000 prisoners there. It is said that larger than Butyrskaya Prison is the famous prison in Kharkov, located, I believe, on ~~Kh~~holodnaya

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Gora /mountain, hill/, and the famous Tashkent Prison, which serves all Central Asia and usually contains an average of almost forty or fifty thousand prisoners.

Butyrskaya Prison has a good reputation. Here the regimen is more lenient than at Lefortov or the Lubyanka. I landed at once in a large cell  if I am not mistaken, the Special Fourth Interrogation Building, as it is called. There were about seventy people there. This was a great delight for me. I immediately made the acquaintance of a number of people, including intellectuals. There were even former party members. There were also two Germans, here, etc., etc. At once everyone began questioning one another, exchanging impressions and discussions about interrogators, about who had met whom, who had seen whom, and several days passed by almost unnoticed. I was beginning to see clearly that my case was finally coming to an end. <sup>In</sup> Butyrkam I was hardly questioned at all. A few times I was summoned for interrogation and brought again to the Ministry. The questions put to me were of a technical nature: Do you know such-and-such, such-and-such, and such-and-such? I, of course, did not know some of them, but the ones about which I did know, I tried to say I had forgotten. No one especially insisted upon it. This was simply the ending to my case. Also there <sup>In</sup> Butyrkam my file concerning the termination of the investigation was shown to me. I signed ~~the~~ Article 95 of the Constitution of the USSR concerning the termination of the investigation. This procedure is as follows: The interrogator summons you to him and says that your case has been closed. It should be specified that I had had many interrogators, about twelve. The <sup>last</sup> of my interrogators was a certain Senior Lieutenant Shatle, a Russified Latvian, and he left me my entire file. This file contained all the documents concerning me collected during interrogation, all statements containing my signature, as well as statements of other

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individuals who had had any relations with me. This file does not contain only operational documents, i. e. denunciations and reports which workers of the operational organs of the USSR had made about me prior and even subsequent to my arrest, so that I would not be able to take any action against them. This was standard operating procedure for the Ministry of State Security. You have the right to read your file for as long as you wish. The interrogator has no right to limit your time. You may read for one, two, three days. I devoted comparatively little time to reading my case--five or six hours--because there was very little of interest therein. It was clear who had arrested me, who had obtained my arrest. I found out something. I saw also the testimony of many of my comrades. This testimony was valuable in that it now told me who had fallen into the hands of the Soviet organs and who had not. I did not read the interrogations. Everyone knows quite well that such interrogations of prisoners take place in prisons. This is a very long, drawn-out, and disorderly account of your testimony. The interrogation is usually written up in the way that the interrogator writes it, and you can either sign it or not. As a rule, the interrogator does not put on paper anything which might lighten your position. However, ~~the~~ the purpose of the interrogation is only to squeeze everything possible out of you in order to be able to start further work on the case and in order to give the Soviet organs some kind of information interesting to them. This has no bearing upon your fate. If you have been arrested by the Soviet organs under Article 58, then this means that your sentence has already been decided. Throughout the entire existence of the Soviet regime, some 38 years, no one arrested on a political article has ever been released. Even if an individual is arrested by mistake--let us say that they wished to arrest one Ivan Petrov, and by mistake they arrested another Ivan Petrov, a namesake of his--~~this~~ <sup>nevertheless,</sup> latter individual, ~~all the same~~ will not be freed. No one ever apologizes to him as he receives a term of some

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sort, a very short one, perhaps, and is subsequently <sup>amnestied</sup> perhaps, but in any event he will actually be sentenced. Not for nothing do the chekists at the Lubyanka say, "He who is not in prison will be, and he who has been in prison will never forget it."

The basic system of interrogations, speaking of interrogations in general, consists in holding the prisoners constantly in a state of nervous tension. Even the strongest individuals reach a state after which they must be treated in a psychiatric hospital. The following incident shows to what extent people become nervous: In my cell was an elderly prisoner, a Jew, and a very nice person, <sup>to</sup> whom another prisoner before leaving our cell said, "You saw that pipe which protrudes from the wall down below in the exercise yard." This was a rusty iron pipe which came out of the "Khleborezka" [bread-cutting room(?) ] simply to ventilate the room. "Well," he told him, "during the walks, you know, the chekists usually shoot their victims through this tube. They carry out the so-called silent sentence." We, of course, all laughed. No one believed <sup>it</sup> because everyone knew perfectly well that no such sentences <sup>ever</sup> are, of course, carried out. However, at the next walk this poor man took the matter seriously and kept glancing back at the pipe, while begging us--there were four of us at the time--to allow him to walk in the first pair. No matter how we tried to convince him that he was in no danger, he, for a period of approximately two weeks, until he was removed from our cell, subsequently refused to walk in the rear.

After I had signed Article 95, i.e. my case was closed, I returned to my former cell, said that.....oh, before that, I was taken to the prosecutor. I was taken to the prosecutor in the Ministry of State Security or the seventh floor. There sat a few ordinary officials of the Ministry of State Security, employees of the Prosecutor's office. The prosecutor's office is located in rooms on the seventh floor, bearing No. 793, in any case, in the seven-hundreds (770 or simply 700). There

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sat a certain Colonel Boyarinov, one of the administrative workers of the prosecutor's office. Also located there is the famous military prosecutor Kotov, or simply, as the prisoners call him in their slang-- everyone knows him very well; many have had contacts with him-- "Sukin Kot." [closest English equivalent: "S.O.B."].

It should be mentioned that in the course of the two years that my case was being handled, even more than two years until I signed Article 95, I had occasion to come into contact with and to be under the jurisdiction of three different ~~organs~~ <sup>of the</sup> apparatus. First, the purely, so to speak, operational organ. Some time later or even before then, I found myself in the hands of counter-intelligence. It should be said that employees of the Soviet counter-intelligence, in regard to their activity and intelligence capacity, stand head and shoulders above all other officials. And they are far more clever and better-educated than the workers of the interrogation apparatus. The workers of the operational organs stand a head higher. There is in them neither ~~that~~ <sup>that feeling</sup> haughtiness nor, if such may be said, ~~of~~ <sup>of</sup> responsibility and importance, such as workers of the Soviet intelligence have. These people, as is apparent, are accustomed to commanding and afraid of almost nothing. They are very well dressed, receive a magnificent salary, and in any event, they obviously are people whom the Soviet regime has given a vast amount of authority. Concerning the workers of the operational section, they stand a head higher and apparently have no special liking for their colleagues in the intelligence and counter-intelligence organs. Later I landed in the hands of the interrogation organs, the interrogation apparatus. Interrogators are people who stand comparatively very low. They are very coarse, They are very often uncultured. They try to extract ~~/information/~~ by all sorts of crude methods. Actually they are totally unable to conduct a keen, psychological analysis of the individual who has fallen into their hands.

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They lack even a general education. For example, ~~when I~~ <sup>when I</sup> once said that as a very young man, I had gone to spend a vacation in Denmark, the interrogator shouted at me threateningly for a long time that I should confess what I had done in Denmark. He could not understand that in Europe people with an ordinary passport could, without any ~~task~~ <sup>mission</sup> or difficulties, go abroad, let us say, to spend a vacation or for the sake of their health, and come back afterwards.

In a few weeks I had signed Article 95, if I am not mistaken, a month and a half or two passed by, and I was suddenly removed from the cell with my things. I was taken to a cell where there were many different people; their personal belongings were also there. They were all speaking. I, of course, began to inquire <sup>as</sup> who had already been convicted and who had been told his sentence. It was said that our sentences had not yet been announced, but we all had signed Article 95. I immediately realized that I was located in the cell from which I would probably <sup>be</sup> summoned for the announcement of my sentence. I was very much interested in who would sentence me, how, and to what. Then the summoning began. I, true to my principle, remained last. But no one came back to the cell. They had been summoned and taken away. At last they called me, too. This was to a small office in Butyrskaya prison, where I had been once before and where papers were filled out in regard to my arrival. Present here was a man, ~~well-~~ dressed, stout, chubby, rather unpleasant, about 60, with an unattractive bald crown and a certain sly expression on his face. He had a yellow, rather crumpled briefcase. He asked me my name, and I, of course, gave it; he asked me to sit down and began to read me some sort of stupid lecture to the effect that "you, together with the rest of you Germans, ~~went into the East~~ <sup>marched eastward</sup> in order to turn us into your slaves." But by this time I had long since ceased to be afraid. I declared whether it made any difference in the final analysis to be slaves of the Soviet regime or the Germans, of Hitler or Stalin? He said to me, "Don't be insolent, or else you will land immediately in the lock-up. Do you

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know why you are here?" I, of course, knew, I suspected, but feigned innocence: "I do not have the honor to know." "Your sentence is being announced to you, and Thank God you are in a democratic country. In any other country you would be shot." After this, he made a gesture with his hands that I was to rise. I, of course, stood up. He reached for a small leaflet of paper and said: "In accordance with the decision of a special committee of the Ministry of State Security of the USSR, you are hereby sentenced to 25 years in a corrective labor camp. You have been convicted on the basis of Article 58/4, which pertains to the promotion of world bourgeoisie or collaboration with the world bourgeoisie; 8 through 19, 11--this is an attempt to commit group terror." At the bottom there appeared a strange, totally fictitious post script: "and for other crimes against the Soviet regime." From a formal point of view, I immediately declared my protest. "Please tell me what 'other crimes against the Soviet regime' means--that, I perhaps robbed a bank in Moscow or something? This immediately brought me three days in the lock-up. It is true, the lock-up was very pleasant. I got a nice guard, was fed immediately that same day, when I was brought a full bowl of Kasha; the lock-up was warm. Afterwards I was taken from the lock-up very fast. Before the lock-up I spent several hours in the box before I was assigned here immediately after leaving the man who had announced my sentence. In this same box were all those sentenced to 25 years.

After the lock-up I was sent to the so-called death cell. The death cell, in view of the lack of capital punishment, is used for persons who have received over 25 years, i.e., the strictest penalty. This cell is fastened with five locks. Three locks are built into the door, and two are padlocks. The door has a very menacing and dangerous appearance. There were 15 of us there, an intelligent and very restrained group. We immediately became acquainted with one another. The peephole was never

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closed; the guard, it was apparent, was watching us, afraid of what we might do. No one dropped in on us. Food, i.e. the bread ration, and dinner as well, was served through a so-called trough. The food trough was a small aperture in the door, 30 centimeters long <sup>and</sup> 15-20 centimeters high, which was opened from the outside, but could not be opened from the inside, and at the same time formed a small shelf. When this lid, the little door, is opened, your bread is placed upon it, the bowls of soup are served, and the feeding of the prisoners proceeds. All this time, it was apparent that <sup>it was a</sup> guard who had served and laid down the bread and then <sup>had</sup> moved off to the side. He was afraid that we would do something to him through the opening, grab his hand or something else. However, nothing of the sort happened, of course. When it was seen that we were a peaceful folk.....the "starshina" [senior guard(?)] came to us. Timidly, he stopped near the door and asked us to move off to another corner of the room. We, naturally moved and then began to chat. For a half hour a rather peaceful conversation took place as to whether it was not possible to open the window in the cell a little more often or go for a walk a little longer, and generally speaking the "starshina" saw that there was nothing frightening or dangerous about us despite our 25-year sentences, and after that, normal relations were established. I had not remained in the cell long, namely about eight days, when suddenly together with a few other prisoners, I was taken to the so-called "vokzal" /station/. This station, in prison jargon, is a special cell, from which you go on to the "etap" [halting-place]. I went through a whole procedure. I was bathed. The opportunity is given to rinse one's underclothes. Then I went through a sanitation process; this means that I was shaved again. Then I again underwent a search, and just as during my entry into the prison, was again searched in a most detailed manner--several seams in my only article of warm clothing, namely my overcoat, were ripped apart, so that it completely lost all <sup>its</sup> natural appearance. After

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this, we were sent with our belongings to another room. Here appeared an official with our file and called us by our surname, first name, and patronym. Shoes were also issued to some. I, too, tried to get a pair of shoes, but because of my large feet, no shoes of my size were available. I had there some rather shabby slippers which did not stay on my feet. After this, 15 other persons and I were placed in a so-called Black Maria and driven somewhere. The escorting guards behaved very harshly. They were, as it later turned out, Moscow Komsomols. They were dressed in splendid sheep-skin coats of high quality, white "valenki" [a kind of felt boot], or more accurately, "chesanki", also with galoshes, or in other words, very splendidly, also fur caps. The people were all tall and healthy. In their hands they held Nagant revolvers, and after removing us from the Black Maria, they began to drive us along the railroad tracks. There were also women among us--about 70 to 80 individuals in all, who were taken out of several other prison vehicles which had arrived. They drove us very roughly until several persons, who had more baggage, and several women, fell. They shouted, "Get up or we'll shoot." However, an official, who rather coarsely.... said, "Where are you chasing them to? Don't you see that these people cannot walk?" A rather hostile discussion with the use of unprintable expressions ensued. After this they moved us on rather quietly. We saw a railroad car standing on one of the sidings. This one was an ordinary passenger car--in this instance it was even a Pullman car--with wire screens on the windows and with separate compartments, made into a so-called "Stolypin" car, i.e. the wall in the compartment.....an instead of it, there is a wire screen. Here they parceled us out, about 12 to 15 persons per compartment. It must be said that such <sup>Journeys</sup> ~~travels~~ in Stolypin cars are a terror for all prisoners. It is most miserable. Sick or nervous persons, particularly persons suffering from heart ailments, cannot endure it. There were frequent instances of injury or death. Why? So many people would usually be

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crammed into the Stolypin car that it was often simply impossible to breathe. Fortunately, there was one experienced individual, a rather suspicious lad, who said to me: "You know, Georgiy, let's not climb up on top. Let us stay below." I was rather cold, and I wanted to climb up on top, where it was the warmest. I did not know that in two or three hours there would be a terrible stuffiness in this same compartment. We were all brought here, seated, and locked up. After this we lived in this same car for two more days, <sup>received</sup> ~~received~~ the so-called travel rations, which at all "etaps" always consisted for some reason of salted fish, which we ate. After this salted fish we would be extremely thirsty, but there would not be any water, and the people suffered and were tormented. I personally, knowing this, simply <sup>exercised</sup> ~~used~~ self-control and did not eat the salted fish.

In the Stolypin car, I traveled northward. At first, we could not determine the direction in which we were going. Later, someone succeeded in looking through the grill through the window, and we saw that we were traveling due north, if I am not mistaken, along the Yaroslav Railroad. I remember passing through a suburb of Moscow which bore the name Losinoostrovskaya. It took us an even 14 days to reach Vorkuta. It was very agonizing. It was almost the most agonizing of all my prison experiences. The <sup>car</sup> ~~wagon~~ was jam-packed. There were women. Also on board were some suspicious characters who called themselves "Banderists," but who apparently belonged to the criminal element. There was an average of 15 persons in each compartment. It was hot and stuffy; we were fed herring, and there was nothing to drink. The train went very slowly. Sometimes it stayed over in stations for an entire 24 hours. We were, as it later turned out, coupled to various freight trains, usually empty ones en route to Vorkuta for coal.

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Finally, after a series of ordeals, after 14 days had passed by, on the fifteenth day, namely 1 February 1950, we arrived someplace where from the bustle of the convoy personnel, it was evident that we were to be unloaded. One man took a look and observed some two-story buildings. He said, "They have brought us to Vorkuta." The unloading began, a very chaotic, unpleasant, and humiliating procedure. An escort detail<sup>with dogs</sup>/immediately met us. They were the so-called "Krasnopolgonniki," wearing red shoulderboards [krasniye pogony, in Russian], i.e., troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. We were surrounded on all sides by the convoy and for the first time I heard the famous formula: "Do not get out of ranks. One step to the right or left is considered escape, and the convoy will use guns without warning." And the following command: "Forward, march!" We marched. First of all, we arrived rather soon in the so-called transfer camp (peresyl'nyy lager', in Russian) in Vorkuta. This was a camp consisting of very bad barracks. The food there was poor. In addition, the common criminal or "blatnyy" [sic] element was represented there to a considerable degree. Just the day before, a horrible knifing had occurred, several persons were slain, and others taken to the central hospital for operations and treatment.

There were about 80 of us. At the very outset we were met at the gates by some suspicious characters; and when we arrived in the barracks, it turned out that everything valuable in our possession had been taken into account. They began to run up to us asking to buy various articles in exchange for a ration of bread. Most [of us] were so depressed, so emaciated, and were in such dire physical and mental straits that without any resistance we gave up these articles, which, of course, had considerable value. Then we were issued clothing. There were 20°-30° below zero [Centigrade?]. Each of us was issued warm quilted trousers, a warm second-hand sleeveless jacket,



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a "bushlyat" (a kind of wadded, quilted coat), also second-hand, patched up, and rather soiled, and so-called "chyuli." The latter, of course, are not "valenki" [felt boots]—the transfer point did not, nor wish to, issue us valenki—they were simply warm, quilted stockings over which galoshes made out of kersey [kind of woolen cloth] or rubberized material, were put on and fastened to the feet with cord. They looked very awkward and unpresentable, but at the beginning helped [to protect] from the cold. Then we were assigned to the various barracks.

We were immediately taken to the so-called auxiliary jobs. Finally came ~~the~~ <sup>that</sup> dreaded feature called the "kolesovka." We were "broken on the wheel," i.e., we were subjected to a medical examination. I was at that time in a serious state of dystrophy, which was quite advanced. It was difficult for me to walk. I wrote a request that I be given additional nourishment. I was turned down and instead advised to take more walks. Walking was very difficult for me, although the camp was not large. I walked, strolled, breathed the fresh air, and, generally speaking, hardly remained on my legs. Here the first categories were established. The categories in Vorkuta at this time were the following: first of all, Category 1; Category 1 underground and Category 1 surface, i.e., all prisoners were divided into those destined to work on the surface and those destined to work underground.

What do the terms "surface" and "underground" mean? We did not even know which was better. At present, these two categories, surface and underground, are further subdivided within themselves, e.g., there is Category 1 underground, pertaining to those who perform the heaviest work; for example, loading and piling. [There are also] Categories 2 and 3 underground. There is also Category 1 surface, which pertains to the most arduous <sup>labor</sup> ~~the~~ and Categories 2 and 3. In addition, there is the

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so-called light, individual work, which in practice, however, is included with the so-called mine surface. I immediately received light individual work. Despite this, however, I had to work very hard on the surface. Furthermore, there were the incapacitated, i.e., those who were considered unfit for work. They were immediately assigned to a special brigade for the incapacitated. Those of us who were seriously ill, i.e., really gravely ill, were ultimately sent to a so-called statsionar [hospital] for medical treatment. To get into a statsionar, especially in Vorkuta, the transfer point, or anywhere else, is considered paradise. In camp slang the statsionar is called "God's Kingdom." If you get there, that means you have entered the Kingdom of God, for truly, when you land in a statsionar, where you lie down and no one shouts at you, where you are treated and fed relatively well, and not driven to work, than you have finally attained salvation. As the saying goes, "one month in the statsionar is a year of life."

Outright slave-trading began in this transfer point, i.e., people would even say here: "Has anyone come to buy you?" It was an actual fact that so-called "buyers" would come from all the mines. Who were these buyers? They were the representatives of the civilian staff, the mine administration, from the chief of the mine himself down to his subordinates, specialists in the various fields of activity, who, having learned that a new contingent was at the transfer point and that the "kolesovka" [medical examination] had already taken place, or even before then, would attempt to determine just which specialists they were short of. Let us say, about 40 miners, 20 carpenters, several cabinet-makers, etc., are needed. Then they visit the transfer point and select for themselves the 20 miners. Then they say: "I need a skilled cabinet-maker or a skilled carpenter, two medical assistants, and one doctor, etc."; i.e., a regular slave-trade would

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occur. They say that even this transaction cannot get by without some drinking and sometimes, bribery, behind the scenes. For instance, someone wishes to take 20 healthy miners, but someone else says, "Boy, you're a sly one! Look, I come from mine No. 5, which needs 40 [miners]. Well, Ivan Ivanovich, let us make some kind of a deal." The matter ends with the transfer of several hundred rubles into the hands and pockets of the chief of the transfer point or, more accurately, of the chief of personnel. Thereupon he gives his kind permission to this individual to take, let us say, 20 miners.

I spent ten days at the transfer point. No one, of course, bought me, because I was suffering from dystrophy and was almost totally incapacitated. However, in some way I got into trouble. I really do not know how or who had squealed on me; probably, in looking through my file, someone for some reason had assessed me as an especially important criminal. I was relegated to solitary confinement, where several hooligans were serving time for fighting. From solitary confinement I was sent in a special detail accompanied by three escort guards with a dog--this was the procedure of the "etap" even for a single prisoner--to the so-called "Capital Pit" or Pit No. 1. When I arrived here, I was immediately examined and placed in the stationar [camp hospital] as a person suffering seriously from dystrophy and totally unfit for work. I lay in the hospital exactly four hours. Upon orders of the "operupol'nomochenny" [operational authorized agent], Capt. Voronin, a very energetic man and very determined where prisoners were concerned, I was immediately placed in the so-called BUR. This was an intensive regimen barracks. [barak usilennogo rezhima, or BUR]. Here were quartered all those individuals about whom for some reason--because of their danger or some other reasons--the following is written into the regulations: "for considerations of regimen, not to be allowed free in camp." In the

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"bur" were several men who had refused to work and several common criminals. From here we were marched to work in a special column with a special escort and were employed in jobs inside the camp. We were separated from all the others.

From the bur I was again, for about a day, put into solitary confinement. Upon leaving the bur, I was again examined and it was decided to assign me to a brigade. The system in the camps is as follows: all the prisoners are divided into brigades. No prisoner could say that he worked outside of any brigade. There are brigades of bricklayers, cooks, paperhangers, construction specialists, helpers, and finally fire brigades. Every profession and every person who belonged to any particular calling was embraced by an appropriate brigade. There are, it is true, professions which are totally unnecessary in a camp, for instance, journalists, writers, and in general most of the intelligentsia. In addition, there is usually no use even for engineers. There are too many of them. Sometimes they have to work at a new line of work. If you fail to land a job in your own field, say as a bookkeeper, because all the bookkeeper jobs are already taken, then you have to go to a brigade to which you are assigned or in which you wish to work. True, it is <sup>not so</sup> difficult to transfer from one brigade to another. Of course, it is always very easy to land a job in a brigade where the work is long and arduous. On the other hand, it is very difficult to transfer from brigades with hard work to one with lighter work. As a dystrophy-sufferer who was not even permitted to leave the camp for work, I obtained a job at first as an orderly. This was the person who kept the barracks in order.

Every barracks in Vorkuta has three sections. In this particular section the plank beds on which the prisoners slept were arranged in two rows. Each such section--the sections are numbered 1, 2, and 3--

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has its own orderly. The first and second sections are for the hard workers. The third section, as always, is the aristocratic section. Here live the bookkeepers, brigade leaders, and in general all the persons who are called the camp aristocracy or, in the camp slang, simply "pridurki" /literally, "half-wits"/. The authorities sincerely believed, apparently, that the work of an orderly was light. Certainly, this was not the work of a miner nor the arduous labor of loading and stacking logs in the lumber depot, but, just the same, you were kept going all day like a mouse in a revolving drum. You had to clean, sweep, keep the prisoners satisfied, carry water, etc., and perform a thousand other duties. For me the work was extremely taxing.

Soon, however, I landed in the stationar. I had developed a severe inflammation of the leg blood vessels and was subsequently, as totally unfit for work, sent to the hospital, where I was operated upon.

Every camp is nothing more than a copy of the Soviet system. It is a state within a state. The camp is, so to speak, a miniature copy of the Soviet Union, only with far worse living conditions. How is the camp organized? In the camp there are two categories of individuals who populate it, or more accurately, belong to it. There <sup>is</sup> ~~was~~, first of all, the civilian labor force--civilian employees--and then the prisoners. First of all we shall mention the civilian employees. These were all employees of the so-called Ministry of Internal Affairs, i.e., simply the MVD, because all camps come under the jurisdiction of the MVD. The MVD has a special organ, called GULAG, i.e., Main Administration of Camps, which supervises the camps. So, all the civilian workers in the camp belong among the so-called MVD employees. There are military MVD employees. To this class belong all those who wear uniforms and are authorized to wear them. One such person, first of all, is the camp commander. Another is his deputy. Sometimes there are two deputy commanders of a camp point.

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The individual third in importance is the so-called "operupol'nomochenny" or more precisely, "operativnyy, upol'nomochenny" [operational authorized agent] of the MVD. His task is to watch to see that nothing directed against, first of all, the Soviet regime, and secondly, against the camp administration itself, takes place in the camp. The camp, furthermore, contains a so-called "spetschast'" [special unit] commander. He is also an officer and a Ministry of Internal Affairs employee, who controls all the case files. All your documents, personal papers, dates of release, "etaps," are in his hands. He handles all the files of the prisoners who are located in the camp. It should be mentioned that your investigation file, itself, is in the city in which your case had been conducted and in which your sentence had been passed. Sent with you to camp is the so-called personal file, i.e., the accompanying file case with all the necessary data concerning you, with notation as to how to confine you, that you should be in a regimented camp, etc. Well, these files are handled by the so-called special unit. In addition there is a "planchast'" [planning unit]<sup>too,</sup>. At the head of this, is an officer. The planning unit performs the planning of the labor force. All matters concerning the employment of prisoners for labor are handled by the planning unit. Also attached to the camp is a so-called KBCh, i.e., kommunal'no-bytovaya chast' [here, roughly, maintenance unit], which, it is true, does not exist in every camp. It manages all maintenance work in the camp, i.e., repair of barracks, paving of roads, maintaining of other buildings in order. Subordinate to it are especially assigned repair brigades. It directs the cart transport parking lot in the camp and all those other camp activities which, like maintenance, can be employed in the interests of the camp itself. That is the KBCh. There is also an institution which bears the name KVCh. This is the so-called kulturno-vospitatel'naya

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chast' [cultural and educational unit]. This is nothing more than a camp ministry of propaganda. It is engaged in the education of all camp inmates in the spirit in which the Soviet government believes all persons sentenced under the political or even criminal articles should be educated. The KVCh contains, first of all, a library, which the camp inmates may use. When I was at the Capital Pit, there were a few dozen books, in all, there. A library was practically nonexistent. In addition, the KVCh manages the so-called amateur activities of the camp inmates themselves, the cultural amateur activities, i.e., the camp inmates have the privilege of forming choruses, which sing songs, form theatrical troupes, put on shows, organize so-called theatrical performances, concerts, and engage in sports in their free time.

So all these things are handled by the KVCh. It should be stipulated that, as a rule, the really hard-working camp inmates, or as they are called in camp slang, "rabotyagi," make very little use of these cultural facilities and institutions of the Soviet regime. They usually have neither the time nor <sup>the</sup> energy for this. Athletics, soccer games, the organization of shows, and all amateur cultural performances are conducted by the so-called non-working prisoners, who belong in the category of what in camp slang are called "pridurki" [previously explained]. It should also be mentioned that there is a so-called accounting office in the camp. The bookkeeping and accounting section is headed by a chief bookkeeper, also an officer, who handles the accounts of all the activities of the camp itself. In the camp there is, furthermore, an institution designated as the ChIS, i.e., food commissary unit. This is the agency which handles the camp food and produce supply. It is headed by a very important individual. The chief of the ChIS is usually a quartermaster [intendant, in Russian] by profession or, in any event, a commissary [intendatura] worker

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who has been entrusted with almost the most important sector of work, namely, the feeding of the camp population itself. Subordinate to these individuals, who are present in all these agencies, is a number of civilian workers, who are not officers, i.e., do not wear uniforms. The people working here are simply civilians, sometimes even ex-prisoners who have served their terms. In this group belong assistants of all kinds, secretaries, bookkeepers, assistant bookkeepers, medical workers, civilian nurses, civilian doctors, the chief (male or female) of the medical unit--all these people. It should be mentioned that at the Capital Pit, at which there were about 4,500 or even 5,000 prisoners, there were approximately 500 camp civilian workers. The staffs were heavily overmanned. People talked about this condition. They [the staffs] would often be reduced, but nothing came of it. It should be mentioned, however, that, generally speaking, the quality of work of the civilians was not very high. Everything was done by the prisoners. The civilians virtually only filled up space, received high salaries, and lived quite well. Not one of them, if he had quit working in the camp system, could have obtained such a good job anywhere else. The civilians themselves, of course, lived outside of camp. To get into the camp, a special pass was required. You possessed a pass. There were passes for one-time use and permanent passes, the latter issued for a specific period of time, sometimes for even a whole year. In passing the guardpost, where there was a check, you displayed your pass and then passed inside. You left the pass at the guard post; thus, inside the camp itself you were without documents. This was done so that you could not lose it [the pass] and some prisoner could not appropriate it. When, as a civilian, you left the camp, you gave your name, or, if you did not want anyone to hear it, you gave [only the initial], let us say, the letter "B." After this..... [at this point the apparently irrelevant notation "they remember the pass(?)" is written above the line] and there, let us say, your name

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is Baronov and they give it to you and inquire, "Is this the correct pass?" If it is your pass, you say, "Yes." You take it and then leave the confines of the camp. Such was the organization among the civilian personnel. All of them, of course, were strictly subordinate to the chief of the camp division Diagot Deleniye, who was the absolute ruler of the entire camp. The only individual who in practice was not subordinate to him, and to whom he himself was in practice subordinate, was the operational authorized agent. It should be mentioned that sometimes there would also be a special authorized agent in the camp, not of the MVD, however, but of the MGB, i.e., Ministry of State Security. This person had absolutely nothing to do with the prisoners; he watched over all the staff workers of the NKVD to see that there was no, shall we say, relations between prisoners and any civilian women. He was, so to speak, the police organ for the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the eye of the Ministry of State Security.

Now I should like to say a few words about the prisoners. Prisoners represent the second category of individuals, by far the more numerous. How are they classified? These are all those sentenced under the 58th or the criminal articles. It is true, there are camps where there are almost no prisoners sentenced under the criminal articles. At the Capital Pit there were 20 of these. They were unescorted and they performed all the jobs for which it was necessary to leave the confines of the camp continuously, for instance, conveying grain, produce, and very many other things into the area. As I have previously mentioned, all the prisoners are divided up into brigades. The structure is as follows: Heading the brigade is the brigade leader. Just what is a brigade leader? He is a reliable individual in a particular field of work and capable of leading people during work. Brigade leaders may or may not be specialists. The brigade leader does not work but is responsible for the volume of work produced by the brigade and for the

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proper performance of the brigade. He looks to see that output is constantly increased. He is responsible for this. The brigade leader is, so to speak, the low driving belt of the masses, as they say in camp slang. He is usually on poor and strained terms with the brigade. Then he is a good brigade leader and is recognized as such by the authorities. The brigade leader has a deputy. The brigade leader writes a report of the work. He specifies what percentage of the particular task has been fulfilled. In connection with this report a calculation of what [compensation?] the brigade has a right to expect is made in the accounting office. When I was there, there were no wages. Instead, you received an appropriate "kotel" [diet, bill of fare, type of meal, cuisine, etc.] depending upon the work. For underground miners there were first, second, and third kotels. The first was the worst, the second a little better, and the third the best of all for the underground miners. For the surface there were also first, second, and third kotels. There was also a special kotel "2A" for engineers and workers doing special engineering work. It was very good and totally inaccessible for the ordinary camp inmate. In addition to this, there was a number of hospital kotels. Thus, the mess chief in the camp had to cook food and apportion it among an aggregate of almost 20 different kotels. This complicated the book-keeping of the kitchen incredibly. There was a mass of bookkeepers and computers there; this whole matter was terribly complicated. And it terribly complicated the preparation of the food, because the specific kotel to which you were assigned depended upon your output. If your output fell below a certain percentage, you would get the so-called disciplinary kotel. This was 300 grams of bread per day and one bowl of soup. If your work is still worse or you refuse to work at all, you would land in solitary confinement, where you are given 300 grams of bread per day and a hot meal every third day for health considerations. It should be stated that the kotel system is totally different in different camps.

Now a few words concerning the organization of the work day:

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Reveille is at five o'clock both winter and summer. You sleep in a section. The light in the section is never switched off at night. Reveille is at five o'clock. You wash, get dressed, and go for breakfast. You eat breakfast according to a ticket. The ticket is issued to you for the appropriate kotel. After you turn in your ticket for breakfast, a special part is [detached] from it. The ticket is divided into three parts. The breakfast section is detached. After this you eat breakfast. You eat very hastily. Capital Pit was terribly overworked, there were not enough tables, and the dining room was very small. Consequently, no sooner had you elbowed your way to a seat when you had to bolt down your food. We were fed in the following manner: You sit four persons to a table of the appropriate kotel. Your ticket is collected from you and then the waiter immediately serves all four of you the appropriate meal. You eat up and vacate the table at once. After this the next party sits down. After breakfast you go to the barracks. Here the brigade leader tells what job you are going on and where you are going, if you had not already been so informed on the previous day. If you are going outside the camp, you assemble at the guard post. If you go to the industrial zone at the mine, you go to the guard post which controls the mine. The industrial zone of the mine is separated by the guardpost and no one without authorization or without a special pass is allowed to pass through to the mine. If you are going into town, you go by way of the so-called city guardpost. You go out. The brigade leader calls the roll. After this, an escort of guards with dogs stands on the other side of the camp. The brigade goes out to work. If the brigade goes out separately from the other brigades, you will get your own escort, which consists of several men. Again the famous formula is uttered: not to break ranks, that a step to the left or right is

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considered escape, and that in such an event the escort will use weapons without warning. Sometimes [you] are forced to take one another by the arm so that no one will escape from the other, or hold your arms behind your back. In the winter taking each other by the arm along an icy rough road is simply torture. The ranks become uneven and fall, the people curse among themselves, and step on one another. It is still more difficult, of course, to walk with one's arms behind one's back. Everyone knows what it means to walk on a slippery road without the opportunity to maintain balance with the arms. You are taken out to work and brought to the proper place. Around the objective, if it is, for example, a building, is a "forbidden zone," i.e., pickets on which is nailed [the notice] "Forbidden Zone" or else simply: "Halt, will shoot!" The escort guard begins to walk around. The job lasts ten hours. At the end of the job the brigade, after being counted all over again on the spot in exactly the same manner -- let us say there had been 28 men, then there must [again] be 28 men -- returns. After taking a count, the convoy turns you over to the guards, i.e., the overseers, who, as in the prison, wear blue shoulderboards. The overseers conduct a search to see that you have not brought any contraband from the city, such as alcoholic beverages, money, which at that time it was forbidden to have on your person, or anything else. After this you enter the zone and can go have dinner. Your working day has ended and you may do anything that you please. [You may] visit barracks, although this, too, is somewhat frowned upon, generally speaking; as a rule, you are to stay in your own barracks and not visit too many friends. Subsequently, in the spring of 1952, all the barracks were locked up by special order. The taking [of prisoners] out to the industrial zone and the mine is carried out in absolutely the same manner. You are again counted and

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admitted into the industrial zone. After this you are lowered into the shaft. With another count you are assigned with the appropriate brigades to the pit sections. An inmate of a regimented camp works, as a rule, 10 hours. Including arrival and departure time, 12 hours of your time are consumed. At the mines it is the same thing. Going out to the pits, changing into working clothes, descending, working, and ascending, departure, and then washing up, also consumed 12 hours. If you are located too far from camp and return very late, then hot food is brought to you or it is cooked on the spot, for example, at the construction sites. There was no returning for dinner. This state of affairs was regarded by all the camp inmates as a true misfortune.

Now I should like to say a few words about what Vorkuta is like. Vorkuta is a city located above the Arctic Circle on the 69th Parallel about 110 kilometers from the Arctic Ocean, more precisely, from the so-called Karskiye Voroty, and 40-50 kilometers west of the northern Urals. On a clear day and from an elevated location, say, the heaps [terakonniki] of the pits, the Ural Mountains are visible. Vorkuta, itself, has a total population of about 180,000-200,000. Of these, about 130,000-140,000 are prisoners. There are two camp systems in Vorkuta. One is the so-called "Vorkutlag," where there are about 80,000 or even 90,000 prisoners. This is a system of permanent camps, partially serving the mines and partially serving other enterprises, as for example, certain plants, a stone quarry, etc. The prisoners in Vorkutlag are almost exclusively those who either had no association with Article 58, i.e., sentenced under the common criminal statutes, or were so sentenced but to minimum terms. The other system of Vorkuta camps is the so-called "Richlag", i.e., MVD River Camp. This a system of regimented camps, of which there are, if I am not mistaken, fifteen,

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and in which are confined 40,000 or 50,000 prisoners. Naturally, it is very difficult to ascertain the exact figure, but it is doubtful whether the number exceeds 50,000. What is this regimented camp like? This is a camp with a stricter regimen. The prisoners in it have far more limited privileges. The regimen is far stricter. In the first place, from a non-regimented camp, such as Vorkutlag, you have the privilege of writing home as often as you please. From a regimented camp you can write only every six months. In the second place, in a non-regimented camp you work eight hours. No one is authorized to make you work longer. In a regimented camp you work 10 hours, but in actual fact, of course, considerably longer. In addition to this, in a non-regimented camp you have the privilege of receiving visits from relatives, i.e., meetings are allowed. A wife can visit her husband and a husband can visit his wife. In a regimented camp such visits are completely forbidden. In regard to internal searches, daily routine, and a number of other things, conditions in a regimented camp are far more vexing, not omitting the fact also that you are searched far more frequently. For the slightest infraction you are subjected to far more severe punishment.

I should also like to say a few words concerning relations between prisoners and civilians. As a rule, the administrative orders of the appropriate Soviet authorities, the camp administration, and the administration of the "Vorkutugol" Combine, itself, all are directed toward the prevention, if possible, of all contact between civilians and prisoners. Of course, this is not fully possible. People work together, sit for whole hours in the same room, and under such conditions personal relations must inevitably be established. The civilians, however, are terrified that they will be suspected of contact with prisoners or possibly

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even be punished. For example, a female civilian receives 10 years for relations with a male prisoner and she herself becomes a prisoner. Exactly the same condition holds true in the case of a male civilian and a female prisoner. Civilians are not permitted to talk about anything or maintain any relations with prisoners outside the circle of their immediate duties. For example, I knew a German working in the bookkeeping office who spoke Russian well. She [sic] was authorized to speak to him only on matters pertaining to work. Once she somehow began to ask him questions about, for example, life in Berlin and many other things. This conversation happened to be overheard by our officer, and I know that there were some very unpleasant consequences for this civilian woman. Civilian personnel are strictly forbidden, for example, to transmit anything for prisoners; even, for example to buy articles, but this practice is regarded indulgently. Especially severe is [the penalty for] the delivery of newspapers and books without the knowledge of the camp administration. Even more severely penalized and prosecuted is the transmittal of anything from prisoners to the outside, for example, letters to relatives or friends. This is a criminal and prosecutable offense. A civilian, if proof has been obtained that he, let us say, transmitted a letter or simply dropped it in a mailbox, is subject to immediate prosecution and may even be sentenced to a term; in any event he will be severely censured and lose his job. It should be said that civilians do this very rarely and very reluctantly. Why? Because, for one thing, there is a prevalence of so-called trusted people among the civilians in the camps. These are not ordinary Soviet citizens. The percentage of party and Komsomol members among them is very high. In addition to this, any person who has some sort of spot, or as they say in camp slang, "khvostik" [literally, "tail"] on his

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record as a Soviet person, is never accepted for work in the camps and is not allowed to associate with prisoners. Yet, in spite of this, I must say that I personally know of several instances of completely cordial and excellent relations between civilians and prisoners. As a rule, the civilians, of course, formally hold themselves very aloof, for this is necessitated by cold calculation and, so to speak, the tone of all life in the camps and particularly in Vorkuta. In reality, however, the civilians never feel any genuine animosity <sup>toward</sup> ~~the~~ the prisoners. This is conditioned by the fact that when they enter a camp, they are always told by Soviet propaganda that the camps contain incredible murderers, fascists, and beasts, not humans. When they arrive there, they discover very soon that they [the inmates] are usually a very courteous and intelligent folk [who had been convicted under] Article 58 -- and that no one abuses them [the civilians] or does anything, and there are no brawls. Despite their <sup>[the prisoners']</sup> ~~oppressive~~ circumstances, a large number of them deport themselves with nobility, as decent and honorable persons. Well-known for instance, is one such case: a certain civilian woman bookkeeper, who was walking out of the camp in Vorkuta one day, was stopped about a kilometer (?) from the camp by three knife-welding drunks, who demanded, "Hand over your money or we will stab you!" They took 1,800 rubles from her. She came sobbing into camp, walking and weeping. By chance she was met right in front of the guard post [by someone?], was directed to the administration to report this misfortune; it seems that even more had been taken -- 2,200 rubles -- a huge sum for her. She would have to pay it, might even be taken to court, and be fired. He [?] asked her, "What are you crying for, madame?" Sobbing she related what had happened. "So what are you crying for?", he said. (At that time, the prisoners were paid

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money.) "Now," he said, "everything will be all right, do not go anywhere; sit down a while in our bookkeeping [office?]." She sat down. He ran around to the camps and barracks and each of the prisoners contributed three to five rubles. As it turned out, 400 rubles more were collected. Within two hours, this entire sum was brought to her in paper bags, superficially counted again, and she departed with several paper bags stuffed with money. Later she said, "They gave 400 rubles more." It is true, she was severely scolded for this by the administration. A long stubborn search was made for the initiators of this collection for the unfortunate bookkeeper. There were miners there, who earned well; the three or five rubles in this urgent case meant nothing, strictly speaking, to anyone.

It should be mentioned that just as there existed among the camp inmates so-called "stukachi," i.e., a network of agents subordinate to the "operupol'nomochenny," which works and reports on everything taking place in the camp, and an agent network of a most diverse character, ranging from agents who watch to see whether the prisoners possess knives or cutting and stabbing implements to those who especially catch individuals who, say, are preparing uprisings or escape attempts or forming in camp anti-Soviet groups or any affiliates of political parties existing on the outside, so, too, among the civilians there exist these stukachi, i.e., the same system which exists among the prisoners is fully duplicated. However, in Vorkuta there lives a large number of people who had previously been prisoners themselves, either some place else or right there in Vorkuta, had been released, and ordered to reside in Vorkuta itself. These people are particularly courteous in their treatment of the prisoners. They regard the latter as their own. Despite the fact that they have been freed, they say,

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"We are hardly different from you." Everywhere they emphatically try to protect the prisoners. If some, let us say, escorting guard is driving a column in front of him and is treating it roughly, people -- and I have personally heard this -- will break out into indignant shouts, whistles, jeers, etc. Once I was working at the digging of a ditch in one of the main streets of Vorkuta when I saw a woman passing by. A guard shouted something coarsely to a prisoner and told them [the prisoners] not to climb out of the ditch, sit down, or rest, although he had no right to order this. It was not his concern to supervise the work; for that there was a brigade leader. This woman assaulted the guard with abusive cursing and deliberately walked through the restricted zone past the prisoners. Several times the guard shouted, "Halt, or I will shoot," Nevertheless, he decided, of course, not to shoot. Such marks of sympathy among freed prisoners are openly visible. Among the people belonging to another camp, i.e., the chekists who inhabit Vorkuta, and the employees of those countless existing institutions which service both mine and camp, the attitude is, of course, different. It is one of coolness. Hatred, however, especially among the women, is totally unknown. I once took part in the repair of a stove belonging to the wife of a certain colonel, an important chekist, whose name I had heard earlier. She was a very young and intelligent woman. Her husband said something rather important to us and then left. As soon as he had gone, she opened the door and said, "Has my husband left?" -- "Yes, he has." -- "My husband has invited you in to dine on some canned meat, but since it would be inconvenient for him to be present and sit with you personally, he went away. So, please," she said, "Sit down and eat." Such incidents do occur.

The entire prisoner population in the camp is, of course, divided into a vast number of very diverse individuals and groups, and simply

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friends. Finally, there are small groups which pursue very specific aims. For example, there exist secret groups which prepare escapes. At the Capital Pit such a group among Latvians was revealed to me. They were supplied with five pairs of home-made skis, knapsacks with grease, and many other things. The people were clearly planning escape. There are groups which conduct, let us say, ideological and political activities among themselves, conduct lectures for one another. I personally participated in two such groups, simply political and self-educational. These were not political parties, but we aimed to raise our general level of political education. Also taking part in this group were even people who did not really belong to us, i.e., camp Communists and those who considered themselves such. Thus, we exchanged opinions and held very friendly discussions. Each one gave a speech and then stated how this appeared from the Marxist viewpoint and how it appeared from a completely different viewpoint. The Communists were very much interested in learning what Western ideology pictured them to be, and we, on the other hand, were extremely interested in learning the thoughts of members of the Communist Party, though they be ~~be~~ convicts who had not yet renounced the ideology of the party.

Furthermore, it should be mentioned that in all camps there exist affiliates of political parties whose members have landed behind wires. Among the Ukrainians can be encountered representatives of the Ukrainian party known by the name of the Bendera [sic; Bandera?] party. In camp they are simply called Benderists [Banderists]. There are also representatives of another Ukrainian political faction, the followers of the political movement of a certain Mel'nik. I also encountered a few -- very few, it is true -- monarchist advocates, who now are dying out, of course, and followers of Skoropadskiy.

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Also represented were political parties among the non-Russian groups, for example, the Baltic peoples. I know that among the Estonians there were in the camp a large number of political groups, not very noticeable, it is true, for Estonian, generally speaking, is a difficult language. The Estonians behave in a very friendly manner. There are not many "stukachi" and "seksots" [kinds of informers] among them, but one Estonian, who was very friendly with me and, so to speak, trusted me, told me that we [sic] had small meetings of an Estonian quasi-Social Democratic party and said, "Right in the next barracks live our political opponents regarding Estonia." There are exactly the same political parties among the Latvians and Lithuanians. They were especially busy among the Lithuanians for, as is quite well known both in the camps and throughout the Soviet Union, the Lithuanians are <sup>2</sup> ~~the~~ people who until the last day never ceased their armed warfare against the Soviet regime.

When I was enroute to Vorkuta, a group of students, some from Moscow and some from other cities, was traveling with me. This group of students, who had become disillusioned with the Soviet regime -- many of them had been philosophy faculty students engaged in the serious study of Marxism -- had arrived at the conclusion that Marxism was a false doctrine, which offered nothing to humanity and was extremely harmful to the Russian people, in particular. Their next step was the formation of a small anti-Soviet group. In their opinion, there were a great many of these anti-Soviet groups. Well known are the alarming reports which reach the Soviet authorities and severely distress the Communists that ~~the~~ academic youths of the large centers stand at the forefront in the formation of anti-Soviet groups.

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Strongly represented among youth in the camps, furthermore, is the element of so-called "true Leninists," as they term themselves. These are people who did not depart from Marxist-Soviet ideology. They merely believe that Marxism had been incorrectly interpreted by Stalin but correctly interpreted by Lenin and, therefore, they believe that to combat all the defects existing in the present-day Soviet government, it is necessary to travel under the banner of Lenin and not to adhere to the course so incorrectly taken by Stalin and the entire Communist Party, which followed him in slavish stubbornness.

There are also groups in the camps which have long broken with Marxism and believe that Russia should be transformed into a national state without Communists.

There are also small groups which are supposedly simply directed against certain minorities; for example, antisemites.

I also had occasions to meet separatists among the Central Asiatic and Caucasian peoples. It is very important here to distinguish two types: one type of people, who identify communism with Russia, i.e., believe that Communism and all its consequent detrimental effects were introduced into their country by the Russians; and the other type, which says that the Russian people, in reality, are also suffering from Communism and are also struggling against it jointly [with us]. In order to overthrow Communism, we must fight together with the Russian people, because each of us separately could not liberate ourselves from the Communists. Liberation from the Communists can be achieved only on a general scale throughout the Soviet Union. Some of them picture a formation of national, totally independent states following the overthrow of Communism, believing that it will be necessary to break off completely and forever with the Russian people. The first paragraph to be inserted in the constitution of this nation will read that all affiliations with Russia are forever revoked. Others, on the other hand, say that this is totally unnecessary and that political and

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cultural autonomy is fully sufficient, for the general trend of events in the world today does not tend toward the creation of tiny destitute states with limited economies but, on the contrary, toward the creation of federations and federal governments. Such tendencies also exist. Of whom are these representatives of the various national groups composed? A great many are former members of the German army who had been in the West, Georgians, Armenians, mountain peoples, Azerbaydzhanis, and Central Asiatics who had been in the West and had come into contact with those of their fellow-countrymen who had long lived in exile and had organized several anti-Soviet and national-independent centers to fight for national liberation of their people from foreign domination or, as sometimes even said, from the domination of the Communist party of chekists. I myself have heard such expressions.

In the camps, there are also various religious groupings. These are mainly sectarians. Strangely enough, the majority of them originate from the North Caucasus, Southern Ukraine, and Siberia, and fewer, strictly speaking, from the European part of Russia proper. The sectarians present are extremely diverse. I know as many as ten different sects. In this regard mention should be made, first of all, of the so-called "Jehovah's Witnesses." They are very numerous and active. Secondly, mention should be made here of the so-called "Seventh-Day Adventists." In third place, are the "Evangelical Christians." Then come the "True-Believing Christians," and the Baptists. In addition, there are the so-called "Baptist Adventists," apparently, a very tiny religious group, for in one camp I met only three individuals and I never heard anything more about them. Also represented in the camps, of course, are all the traditional religions, which, strictly speaking, should not be related to the so-called sectarian movement. This, of

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course, refers primarily to the Moslems, who in general are very numerous. I do not say this because the number of Moslems is so large but because there are very few non-devout Moslems. They are without exception all believers and adhere very firmly to their rituals.

Mention must also be made of the principal group of religious believers represented in the Soviet Union despite all the losses which this group had suffered. I am speaking, in particular, of the [Russian] Orthodox Christians. Generally speaking, there are very many believers in the camps, although there are not so many priests. The difference between the Orthodox and the representatives of the small, tiny sectarian groupings is that the latter are very active, conduct endless religious meetings, and preserve secret copies of bibles and various religious books. As for the Orthodox, they behave more passively, though very firmly. They pray but do not hold special gatherings and do not behave as the sectarians do. The number of believers in the camps is very great. It should be mentioned that, as a rule, even many who are non-devout, when they find themselves in the camp system, become so. The sectarians in their propaganda usually lodge the accusation at the Orthodox that the Orthodox Church has ceased to be a church but has been converted into an arm of the State, i.e., they say, "How strange it is that, strictly speaking, your patriarch even in his ..... does not say a single word about God, or says very little, but always talks mainly about only the authorities and about subordination to the State authorities. The Orthodox believers deny this point of view but almost all agree that, of course, the official Church, as such, has capitulated to the regime, does not think of opposing the regime in any way, and has long since been transformed, strictly speaking, into an organ which, by means of religious authority, trains the people into

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obedience to the authorities, passiveness, support of the Soviet regime, and into the proper unquestioning attitude toward it. Nothing very nice is expressed concerning the patriarch. In general, he is not very well regarded. People say that he is <sup>not</sup> really a spiritual leader but almost, strictly speaking, an official of the Soviet regime for church affairs. People often also speak ill of many other Orthodox leaders, who are openly accused of being connected with State Security organs and it is derisively said that they are nothing but chekists who, with Nagant revolvers in their pockets, have pasted beards on themselves for the sake of form. Whereas the official church of the leaders does not enjoy confidence, the low, rank-and-file priests and devout believers, who hold themselves very steadfast, enjoy great confidence and respect. I know of the case of an Orthodox priest who refused to go out to work, maintaining that this contradicted his beliefs and debased his dignity as a priest; he was held in custody for a long time and, according to rumors, not confirmed, it is true, this unfortunate was finally shot. Here and there in the camps an Orthodox service is held. In 1955, in a camp where the majority [of the inmates] were Germans, I personally attended an Easter service in a separate building which contained the so-called "Chinese kitchen," i.e., a kitchen in which prisoners had the privilege of cooking things with their own food products. Naturally, these things were not allowed to be cooked in the big kitchen. Here [in the "Chinese kitchen"] was conducted the entire Easter morning service, for which a great many people had come. Because space here was comparatively very limited, many were unable to enter this tiny building and stood outside. When a guard, a foreman [starshina], I believe, the chief of the camp regimen, appeared and tried to enter, he was simply rather rudely driven away, the door was not opened, and

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he was told to leave, that there was freedom of religion, and that he had no business here. In general, the Orthodox love and respect their Church very much, regard it as a martyr Church, and go far from identifying the true believers and the lower Orthodox clergy with those leaders who for one reason or another are, of course, accomplices of the Soviet regime itself.

I should like to say a few more words about Vorkuta. The civilian population of Vorkuta is a strange conglomeration. As everyone says, this is a city of both ex<sup>prisoners</sup> and chekists. Nowhere else and hardly anywhere in the USSR will one find such a city where the percentage of chekists and, at the same time, ex-prisoners, is so high. People who are not former prisoners and/or do not belong to the chekists are, strictly speaking, very rare in Vorkuta. This creates a special type of relationship. All the ex-prisoners take the part of the not yet liberated prisoners, while the chekists, on the other hand, represent a special caste. However, Vorkuta is a country still far from being mastered by the Soviet regime. Of course, sometime before my arrival I heard a rumor of the <sup>mutiny</sup> ~~mutiny~~ of so-called Gen. Belyayev. I was also informed of one other mutiny, which took place south of Vorkuta, somewhere on the Pechora, among former Vlasovite soldiers. Unfortunately, I no longer know the details.

I should like to say a few more words concerning relations between the administration and prisoners, in particular, about the use of the latter as a labor force. As is known, every prisoner, by law and according to camp procedure, must perform only such labor as is stipulated by his labor category, i.e., labor which is not beyond his strength and which will not result in injury to him. That is the way it is officially. In reality, the situation is quite different. The camp administration

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always tends to give you a higher labor category. Say, you have light, individual labor; then you are simply given labor Category 2. Several times, I personally found myself suddenly and unexpectedly in labor Category 2. You do not see your personal papers and do not know what is ordered for you at the medical examination. You are examined and written about [?] at the medical examination, then are suddenly told, "You are transferring to Brigade No 47." "Why, please? That, you know, is heavy surface work, unloading at the lumber depot." So, you are told that you have Category 2 surface labor. You begin to protest. You write a statement, and take it to the medical examination. You are told, "Wait a little while, there will be a new medical examination, see, one month, two, three will go by, and you work there until you make a fuss or are discharged from there." Of course, the tendency is always to drive the prisoners to heavy work. In 1950, when I arrived in Vorkuta, the so-called Gorev brigade, a brigade for those unfit for work, was there. In it at the time were 147 men. Three years later, when I left Vorkuta, this brigade, despite ....., numbered about 420 disabled persons. Thus, the camps are constantly being littered -- if it is possible to use such an expression -- with the incapacitated and for that reason workers constantly arrive in the camps and the prisoners lose their fitness for work. In comparison with the years 1944, 1945, 1946, and even 1947, when nightmares and mass extinction virtually prevailed in the camps -- everyone talked about this and medical help was very poorly organized -- in 1948 and in 1948 there began a considerable improvement.

Concern is shown for the health of the prisoners. The concern is identical, say, to that shown by a veterinarian over the health of a work-animal. In Vorkuta there are medical establishments. This is the

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so-called "sanchast'" [medical section], headed by the sanchast' chief, usually a serviceman of the medical service, sometimes male, sometimes female, to whom a number of civilian medical workers is subordinate, usually very few. Then came medical workers composed of prisoners. The trend, it is true, is always to fill all positions of, let us say, doctors allotted to the staff of a given camp -- if I am not mistaken, according to the regulations one doctor is required for every 400 camp inmates -- by civilian doctors, who receive handsome salaries. Sometimes these positions are not filled by doctors at all, but by "fel'dshers" [medical assistants] or even nurses, who by law receive the salary of a doctor, and attached to whom, filling the position of a fel'dsher, even of a hospital orderly [sanitar, in Russian] is a real doctor, who performs all their work for them.

Doctors in the camps constitute a privileged class. They command respect, because there is a large number of very fine doctors, but primarily because doctors, in general, are in short supply. As a rule, there are not enough doctors and for that reason a doctor can take many a liberty for which someone else might simply be "written off", i.e., sent to common labor. A doctor is permitted many a liberty because, in the second place, there are excellent doctors, especially the foreigners, and many are better than the local doctors. [Sense of this sentence not <sup>too</sup> clear.] As is known, almost all the civilian personnel, as a rule, also all civilians able to enter the camp and simply free people are treated or try to be treated by the camp doctors. I personally had occasion to meet a large number of very outstanding doctors, famous German professors, and several Hungarian and Soviet professors. For example, the famous Ukrainian gynecologist, Prof. Khokhlov, was in camp.

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In all, I spent [redacted] in

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Vorkuta, when suddenly and unexpectedly, I was taken to an "etap". I was thoroughly convinced that I was being taken to Moscow for renewed interrogation but, instead, I travelled a short while in another direction. Again the Black Maria to Vorkuta and the Stolypin railroad car. True, I was now travelling under better conditions: not so many people were taken away from Vorkuta as were brought to Vorkuta. I rode four days as far as Kirov, where there was a layover for two days [for changing trains]. This afforded an opportunity for resting in camp. Then off for Gorkiy, from there to Ruzayevka Station, and from there to Pot'ma.

Pot'ma is the terminal of my journey. In short, I had arrived in Mordovia, the Mordvinian SSR [sic], <sup>in</sup> the system of regimented camps of the so-called Dubrava camp. This system completely corresponds to the river camp in Vorkuta in its organization, structure, and traditions. Everything is absolutely the same. The population of the Dubravy camp at the time was also about 35,000-40,000, but the line of work was completely different. Whereas in Vorkuta everything revolves around the extraction of coal and the mines; in Mordovia there are no mines; there the work is forestry, peat mining, or work in various manufacturing operations and woodprocessing factories. For instance, in the eleventh camp division, where I subsequently was, there was a furniture factory.

Dubrava camp has borne this name only since World War II. Until then this system of camps was called the Temnikovskiye camps. Besides this there are in Mordovia two other camp systems, the names of which I do not know. And one camp system in which some kind of strategic constructions are produced, but there were absolutely no foreigners there; virtually only Russians with 25-year sentences

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work there. Information is very meager. It is known that some type of underground plants requiring a considerable amount of pipes is being built there.

The MVD Dubravna camp system embraced about 20 different camps. They all are located along the railroad siding which branches out from the main magistral and from the siding from Saransk to Ryazan'. It extends in a northwesterly direction for a distance of 60 kilometers. And over these entire 60 kilometers -- this region is considered restricted -- lies the so-called Dubravna camp system. This also is a regimented system, but somewhat different. Life in Mordovia is considerably better for the camp inmates than in Vorkuta. In the first place, it is a different climate. The climate is moderate. Absent is the terrible, severe, ferocious Vorkuta winter, which begins in mid-September and stretches out to the end of May. In Vorkuta, besides the specific jobs assigned to them, the camp inmates are worn out by the so-called "snow struggle," i.e., you could work 10 or 12 hours, return to the barracks, and go to sleep. During this time a snowstorm would cover your barracks with snow. In the morning, whether you wanted to or not, you had to get up earlier and shovel away the snow for two hours. In the MVD Dubravna camp, there were somewhat different circumstances. In the first place, the work there was easier. In composition, the camp inmate contingent was exactly the same as in Vorkuta, i.e., mainly Article 58 convicts, although there were also some camps in which common criminal prisoners were represented, i.e., those sentenced other than under Article 58. For that reason, the personal and physical condition of the people inhabiting these camps was considerably weaker, i.e., the percentage of sick and disabled was considerably higher. It may essentially be said that

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in the Dubravna camp there were almost no Category 1 workers, of which there were a great many in Vorkuta. Hence a great many were incapacitated, both because of unfitness for work and advanced age. Here the mood was completely different. It should be said that in the Dubravna camp sentiments were not at all so radical as in Vorkuta. This is explained by the fact, as I later learned, that within a year after my departure a wave of military (?) uprisings had spread all over the northern part of the Soviet Union, including Vorkuta. There were no such uprisings in the Dubravna camp. However, when our transport was leaving, many Russian prisoners said that they were only waiting for us foreigners to leave, and then they would raise a commotion here that would be more orderly than in Vorkuta. But these were the words just of prisoners who had arrived in the camp from Vorkuta.

With respect to proportions, the proportion of foreign prisoners in the Dubravna camp was, generally speaking, higher than in Vorkuta. In Vorkuta, it should be stated, the foreigners -- I am counting both foreigners and inhabitants of the people's democracies, but I am not counting those from, say, Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, which were formally annexed to the Soviet Union -- constituted approximately five percent [of the camp population], no more. In the Dubravna camp the percentage of foreigners was higher: about 10-12 percent, and for some time -- for example, the 11th camp division, where I was -- it was, generally speaking, reserved for foreigners, i.e., 80 percent of its inmates were not Soviet citizens, but mainly Germans, Hungarians, Rumanians, Turks, Frenchmen, and representatives of a few other minorities, of whom there were not very many.

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When I was in the Dubravna system I, because of the deteriorated state of my health, was placed in the ninth camp division, the so-called central hospital. Here in Dubravna people were saying rather openly that some camp reforms were being prepared. Such talk occurred even before the death of Stalin. When, then, in the spring of 1953 Stalin died, everyone unanimously began to say that great changes were now to be expected, both in world politics and in the Soviet Union, and, of course, first of all in the camp system. And, as a matter of fact, changes were not long in coming. First of all, an amnesty was proclaimed, a Supreme Soviet ukase pardoning those convicted under the criminal statutes with the exception, I believe, of those serving especially long terms and those convicted for murder or something similar. The mass of these prisoners poured out into freedom. The result, according to information transmitted from the outside, was most undesirable. Nowhere in a railroad station is it possible to leave a suitcase; in an instant it is stolen. The people were a little disillusioned. Later, an amnesty for those sentenced under Article 58 to terms of three years or less was proclaimed. This amnesty brought nothing but the most profound disillusionment. As everyone knows perfectly well, the proportion of people sentenced under Article 58 to terms of three years or less cannot be more than one in a thousand. For example, during all my eight years [imprisonment], I believe that I actually encountered only one such person. Even that was not certain. Thus, the result of this was practically nothing. Then came silence, though persistent rumors circulated that there was to be more leniency in the camps. On the heels of these, indeed, came the downfall of Beriya, in June 1953. The following incident took place in our camp division: a convoy guard ordered a brigade

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going out to work to fall into columns of fours. One place remained vacant. Then he said, "Anybody, fill in this place!" One of the prisoners turned around to him and said, smilingly, that we were saving this place especially for Beriya. Holy terror was mirrored in the face of this guard, as though some sacrilege had been uttered. "All right," the guard said, "Just wait; I'll fix you right now." And he ran back to the guard post to report this. Someone came out of there and began to shout. Then the prisoners rather maliciously said to him, "Pardon us for saying so, commander, sir, but you do not listen very carefully to the radio." Just at this time the latest news, which came on at 0730, began to be broadcast, and the confused guards, in view of the circumstances, went back without taking any repressive measures. The majority of camp inmates, however, reacted rather skeptically toward the fall of Beriya. They simply said, "One fiend has eaten another." In reality, nothing good was expected. Everyone was glad that the man who had, without question, spilled an ocean of blood had been punished and destroyed, but in reality, most of the camp inmates, with their inherent skepticism, believed that no substantial changes would or could come. However, everyone expected something to happen. Subsequently, there came an amnesty for the so-called "maloletki," i.e., individuals who had committed their crimes before the age of maturity, age twenty-one. Their convictions were set aside and they were allowed to return home. This was an amnesty solely for Soviet citizens. In the summer of 1953, however, foreigners began to be assembled, particularly the Germans. We [?] found out about this. The first transports left for the West. I believe that a transport of 1,500 Germans departed from Dubrava camp. Following these came transports of Hungarians, Rumanians, and other nationalities. Liberated most of all and on several occasions were the Poles.

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It should be said that in Pot'ma the attitude of the population was also very good, though not the same as in Vorkuta. Former prisoners [in Vorkuta], they considered themselves 50 percent camp inmates and simply caused disturbances for the administration, guards, and military personnel. The attitude in Pot'ma, and, generally speaking, in Mordovia, in the villages located near the camps was somewhat different. Here there were very few people who had served time in camps, but all around, instead, were a poor kolkhoz and sovkhos population and railroad workers who earned very poorly. The camp inmates noted a very good and truly cordial attitude toward them on the part of this entire populace. It should be mentioned that none of the surrounding population could, of course, help the camp inmates, since Mordovia was in general one of the poorer autonomous republics of the Soviet Union and the majority of the people were hardly any better off than the camp inmates. For instance, it was known quite well that at one time bread was not portioned out but was left over. Everyone was entitled to receive 700 grams of bread, yet there was bread left over. Therefore, a large tray simply lay in the dining hall, on which was placed some sliced-up bread and everyone coming for breakfast, dinner, or supper would take as much as he needed. Some even fed horses and pigeons there, for which they were prosecuted [?] ... Thus, it is known that a large number of civilians, such as nurses [?], and many others, would simply come with bags and take bread out of the camp; they would be very satisfied. Having the personal opportunity to obtain material at the furniture factory, the gauze [marlya, in Russian] with which sofas were upholstered, simply rags, I frequently gave away the rags to free people, including guards, to be used as foot cloths. Here, they say, after all, foot cloths don't lie on

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the streets, you have to buy them, they cost something. Just the same, here they are obtained for nothing.

The populace was dressed very poorly. Often I was asked by many people, since I worked at the time in a laundry, to, say, wash their linens for them for nothing. I would ask, "But, why, don't you have a laundry?" They would say that they had to wash things themselves, for there was no laundry. Besides that, soap costs something, and you manage somehow. See, you save another ruble. Just as a favor. For this, a civilian would buy fats, which were not available in the camp store, for me. It should be said that he could not buy much for me, because the store in the village of Pot'ma was really not much better in goods than the camp store, i.e., it contained just those things which no one needed: magnificent perfumes, eau de cologne, and elastic suspenders; a suit for 1,800 rubles could be bought, but butter, sugar, fats, and white bread were nowhere at all.

I should like to add a few words concerning relations among the nationalities. In camp the situation was generally as follows: in camp there is only one enemy -- the Soviet regime. Everyone considers himself equally victimized and outcast. This was especially so, of course, in the Stalin period. I saw the most unbelievable friendly companies, where two Jews, former inmates of German concentration camps, were on amiable and intimate terms and ate [?] together with two former SS-men and with one Frenchman, who turned up by chance in camp. They were bosom friends. In camp the situation was such that if there was a necessity to clear up some problem, it would always be possible to ask the appropriate expert. For example, say you are interested in the situation in German concentration camps, how Jews were treated there by the Germans.

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You immediately call an appropriate Jew, who you know had been there, and a German, and a discussion ensues. If you do not know how guards in the concentration camps treated people, then you call some former SS-man who had served as a guard, and, in a completely friendly manner, while sipping tea, they sit down together and thrash out this matter. There is almost no animosity. They criticize, but do not hate, ~~one~~ another. For example, almost everyone agreed that the policies of, let us say, Germany during the war and particularly of Hitler, himself, had been wrong, but no one sees an evil design. A man's prestige rises in proportion to the extent that he has damaged the Soviet Union. The more he has done this, the more authority he enjoys in camp. There is, of course, no national antagonism or enmity. The only clash that may occur is in personal interests. For example, there were several Afghans there who built themselves a musical instrument right in the barracks and for hours on end would strum plaintive melodies on it. This, of course, acts somewhat upon the nerves. Sometimes a clash would occur, for example, if someone wanted to read while others wanted to sleep and put out the light. There are these things, but national discord, as such, does not exist. It must be said that the representatives of the various nationalities who have been in camps inspired one another with deep respect, and a cultural influence was even notable. I, for example, saw with my own eyes many Germans studying Russian and learning a great many things of which they had previously been unaware. <sup>Conversely</sup> ~~on the other side~~, the same thing was true with the Russians and Ukrainians. A cultured person who wished to occupy himself in something in camp could always engage in anything he wished, even in the study of Chinese. I worked together with Koreans and knew a German who studied Korean diligently for a year and, I believe, learned it rather well.

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[redacted] general impressions concerning feelings in the concentration camps of the Soviet Union.

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In the first place, my feelings and my impressions concerning concentration camps of the Soviet Union are purely subjective, because I was in two camp systems altogether; specifically, in two systems of strictly regimented camps, first in Vorkuta in the so-called system<sup>of</sup> regimented camps of the river camp, and then in Mordoviya near the station of Pod'ma<sup>T</sup> [?] in the system of the strictly regimented camps of the so-called Dubravnyy [?] MVD Camp.

The general impressions and feelings in the camps now can be described by one word: disillusionment. After the death of the head of the government of the Soviet Union, Joseph Stalin, everyone instinctively felt that the entire Soviet nation would be faced with very important and, in the present circumstance, perfectly unavoidable, reforms. These reforms were to have un<sup>a</sup>avoidably affected the camps, especially since rumors had been circulating that within the Soviet government there were many who were highly dissatisfied with the state of affairs of these vast masses of prisoners. And indeed, the first thing that occurred was an amnesty for prisoners, the so-called common criminals, that is, persons convicted for [non-political] criminal offences. Then followed a reform of amnesty of Article 58; namely, of persons sentenced up to three years according to Article 58; nothing was given to anyone, since the number of such people was quite negligible, perhaps even less, let us say, than one percent, or about one person in one thousand [sic], because under Article 58, as a rule, a sentence of less than 10 years is never given. Then further relaxations ensued. The regimen was eased. Then occurred the release from the camp of so-called juveniles; that is, persons convicted under Article 58 when they were under 21 years of age; that is, when they

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had not yet attained their legal majority. A certain number of people fell under this category, but only a portion of them were sent home, in spite of the fact that the ukase said that all of them had to be sent home; such was the order of the Soviet government. Many of them were sent to the East, to exile in Krasnoyarskiy Kray, and in regard to this it was said quite clearly that this was an arbitrariness on the part of the lower, local, camp administration. Then followed further indulgences in the camps, in particular, the amnesty or release of invalids; that is, disabled persons. Medical examinations, called "kontsovkii" in the camp language, took place. The intention of the administration was clearly manifested: to limit the number of invalids. A number of totally disabled persons, who obviously, that is, if everything had proceeded in accordance with the law, had the right to be invalids and who could have been sent home, were not recognized as invalids. The case was even more complicated with the invalids than with the persons who had been amnestied previously; and indeed, some invalids were not allowed to return home at all. This happened in instances where the family or rayon refused to accept the invalids as such. They were then sent to so-called invalid homes, which were nothing but the very same barracks or building put up..... comparatively well. A resident of an invalid home has the right to move approximately to the rayon of the given village. There they live in common rooms; that is, so to speak, the same as barracks; they do not have their own rooms, but it is, of course, better than in the camp. Generally speaking, the invalid home, because of its mild features, represents a golden cage. Of course, it does not suit the majority of people, because everyone wants to have full freedom, or at least to live with his own family. The war invalids as such had already been sent to the East,

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namely to Krasnoyarskiy Kray or even to the virgin lands, in spite of the fact that they had protested in the summer. Here the administration of the given camp system was usually the deciding authority, and the invalids being released felt quite clearly that they essentially were being subjected to arbitrary rule; that is, that anything could be done with them. It is perfectly inexplicable why some were sent home to their place of residence or to their own family, and others were sent elsewhere. While the initial period of the new government was linked with great expectations, and everyone said that things could not be worse than they had been under the government of Stalin - especially did spirits rise after the exposure of the Beriya plot - all these reforms, which embraced a very small number of persons and which, moreover, were carried out quite disgracefully, even from the organizational and bureaucratic point of view - all these reforms led to the greatest disillusionment for all the prisoners in the camps. All things considered, not more than 10 per cent of the camp inmates were affected by these reforms of Article 58. It is true that a rather large number of people were released from the camps; these were people who had been arrested approximately in the period of 1943, 1944, and 1945; that is, when the Soviet Army advanced after the sudden change on the front and after the Stalingrad victory. These people, as a rule, had not received more than 10 years, and in about '54 and '55 they finished their sentences and went their normal way, namely, Krasnoyarskiy Kray, and part of them went to Irkutsk.... to eastern Kazakhstan, or finally to the regions of the virgin and unfallowed lands. As for the current condition in the camps, in regard to the Fall of '55,  one should note a quite distinct tendency of extremely deep disappointment. Morale had distinctly fallen. No one counts on anything anymore. In September, 1955, a further reform took place, namely the amnesty of

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prisoners who had collaborated with the German authorities or with the allies of so-called Fascist Germany during the [second] world war; that is, from 1941 to 1945. The convictions of all of these persons were to be revoked with the exception of certain paragraphs of Article 58, namely: 58-8, that is, terror. If I am not mistaken, it seems to be under both the paragraph of diversion and paragraph 13. Strange as it may seem, it is under the sixth paragraph, which is, I think, the most severe; but in this whole ukase of the Supreme Soviet the stipulation is made that the persons who were implicated or had personally taken part or done something in respect to the abuse and torture of Soviet citizens, are not subject to the reform. It is perfectly well-known to everyone however, that in regard to every person who had collaborated with the Germans, that is, who had worked either in German organs of civil administration, in organs of the police administration, or finally with the German Army, they usually write in any investigation that he had insulted someone, struck someone, or put someone in prison. And this is interpretable expressly as torture of Soviet citizens. The people who <sup>are</sup> completely unprejudiced, well-informed <sup>not</sup> and pessimists say that on the basis of this reform not more than five per cent would leave the camps, e.g., in the camp where I was, namely the second camp division <sup>of</sup> the Dubravnyy MVD Camp in the Mordovskaya RSSR, of the 1,500 persons staying in this camp, approximately 50-70 persons or a maximum of 100 would go free on the basis of this reform. Everyone is waiting in the camps. Nevertheless there is disillusionment in the camps; everyone sees that within the Soviet government two schools are clearly struggling: on the one hand, the Soviet government understands perfectly well the impossibility of the further existence of the camps. For example, the

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maximum figure cited to me for people in the camps was 42 million persons; the minimum, 25 million. I never heard less than the latter nor more than the former figures.

These figures were cited to me by all camp inmates and prisoners of the most diverse views, from people who, despite their confinement, still considered themselves supporters of the Communist regime, ~~and~~ to the so-called hardened Fascists, who considered themselves sworn and implacable foes of the Soviet regime.

It is also said that during this period prior to 1955 the number of persons arrested under Article 58 fell sharply. The great wave of arrests surged throughout the country only after the downfall of Beriya and of his, so to speak, supporters. The number of persons executed was estimated at several hundred, and the number of persons arrested, allegedly numbering 5000 to 7000, were placed in special camps. Not a single supporter of Beriya, that is, a person arrested in connection with the Beriya case, has been discovered either in the general camps, in the exile settlements, or in the closed prisons. They are kept somewhere in special places. These people simply do not appear. Moreover, according to certain information, a whole network of new camps is springing up, namely in the extreme north of Siberia, on the coast of the Arctic Ocean. This conforms fully with the Soviet camp system; it is a known fact that from the very inception of the Soviet government, the camps have been continuously advancing toward the north. While camps were established in Korea, for example, or in the Solovkas 25 years ago, there are no camps there now. In the last 15 to 20 years camps have begun to spring up in Vorkuta. Already the Vorkuta camp system and the whole northern, central, and southern Urals, which are completely covered with camps, belong to a system

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of outdated camps. The land has already been conquered, and according to unconfirmed rumors, it is true, subsequent new camps are springing up in northern Siberia, mainly along the coast of the Arctic Ocean, in the Vrangeli Islands, in the Novosibirsk Islands, etc. It is vigorously stated that not only are prisoners convicted according to Article 58, being brought here but also common criminals, that is, the so-called camp "blatnyy" element, people who have long been accustomed to camps and continue to carry on criminal activities in the camps.

Question: Of the prisoners whom you have met, do a large percentage of those convicted under Article 58 consider themselves enemies of the present regime?

As a rule, almost all of them consider themselves enemies of the present regime in some form or another. There are very few people convicted under Article 58 who still consider themselves supporters of the present regime and who believe that, as they say, a legal or organizational error had simply occurred. The number of such people is insignificantly small. Usually they are former members of the party and many of them are among those who were, let us say, unjustly arrested by individuals who today have been exposed by the Soviet regime, namely Beria and Abakumov. Did you not have occasion to meet one or two persons convicted in the so-called Leningrad case, who later were rehabilitated? Yes, that is quite true. These people, as before, remained loyal to the Soviet regime. There are many people, it is true, who harbor a grudge and pretend in camp to be Soviet patriots, hoping to improve their condition. But insofar as we are speaking of genuine feelings, certainly the shortcomings, negative qualities, and the essence of the Soviet regime are completely clear to them.

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Question: What approximate percentage do the political prisoners constitute in the Soviet concentration camps?

Political criminals, if the general mass of all prisoners is taken, that is, of all those people in the camps, including the strictly regimented, the not strictly regimented, and the concentration camps, that is, if the total range of all the people is taken, from the most severe to the most lenient regimes, then we must estimate an approximate percentage of 50 to 60 percent, or, one might say, one-half. Approximately 40 percent belong to those convicted under the ordinary articles, which, however, may very easily be added in with Article 58, because in the Soviet Union a violation of the criminal laws is also a special type of act of aggression against the Soviet government. It should be mentioned that the most common criminals whom I met in the exile settlements, that is, the clearly criminal element, for example, thieves, murderers, housebreakers and burglars - all say frankly that the Soviet government does not let them alone. "It took everything from me; my father was a victim of the collectivization program, and I have no other way or possibility of fighting the Soviet regime. They took everything from me, and I am going to take what I can from them." That, in general, is the theme of those convicted under the ordinary articles. It is true that there are certain others among them who say that it makes no difference to us what sort of government prevails. Any government will imprison us, and of course we will not stop engaging in criminal offences under any government.

But those, generally speaking, are in the minority. The majority of criminal offenders believe that they fell beneath the wheel of criminal elements of the regime and that none of them would have been a thief or a criminal, and would not be serving time if the situation in the country were not completely abnormal.

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Question: Did you meet any people in the camps who had been convicted for active opposition to the <sup>present</sup> ~~existing~~ regime, opposition of a political nature?

Unquestionably. It is, of course, rather difficult to answer this question, because first we must agree upon what is meant by "active opposition". In the period of the dictatorship of Stalin, it was enough to have spoken a few words about some person, or simply to displease someone or merely to allow oneself some trick against a higher up, and one was convicted under Article 58. And this, from the point of view of the Soviet regime, was considered active opposition. Nevertheless, these people cannot, of course, be considered direct convicts; they simply fell under the wheel of the political machine.

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But there are other individuals; for example, in the camps there is a very numerous element of, first of all, those who collaborated during World War II with the German authorities. The majority of these people collaborated completely from the ideological point of view and not at all from considerations of personal or material advantages, so much the more so since personal and material advantage was very insignificant. A large number of people after the end of the war began to oppose the Soviet regime ideologically. Strange as it seems, these often were people who were Soviet soldiers and officers during World War II, i.e., they had quite sincerely defended their homeland, i.e., they considered it their primary duty to defeat the external enemy in order that the Russian state as such <sup>might</sup> be preserved in general, even the red dictatorship of Stalin. Then they proceeded to fulfill their next aspirations and desires, namely, to achieve domestic reforms and modifications of those reforms which the Soviet regime had so generously promised during the World War. Strangely enough, I had occasion to meet people who had received the highest orders and awards, Soviet soldiers and officers who literally had reached Berlin triumphantly.

QUESTION: Were there many Soviet army servicemen?

Very many. The percentage of servicemen during the World War II period was extremely high. The number of regular army soldiers and officers was, strange as it seems, particularly large. It was these regulars, i.e., individuals on whom lay the general burden of World War II, who saw that victory had not brought the people liberation or fulfillment of their hopes, who believed that these were different times, began to protest in one way or another, and sometimes simply resorted to openly counterrevolutionary <sup>tactics,</sup> ~~tricks~~.

After the war, the Soviet Union was covered with a large number of the most diverse anti-Soviet organizations. The majority of them, in

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regard to conspiratory and revolutionary matters, were not up to par, i.e., they were established by inexperienced people and very frequently failed. It is absolutely necessary to mention the sharp and deep antagonism remaining to this day within the regular army, and among the police organs, i.e., the MGB organs, Ministry of State Security, and Ministry of Internal Affairs. I know a considerable number of anecdotes, for example, of a certain lieutenant colonel who was the repairing machine authorized for the operations of a certain motorized corps and despite his high rank as commander of this corps, was literally scolded half-jokingly in his office for repairing his own machine. When he said, "I beg your pardon, but the order was given and signed by you; I cannot help but repair it." Using some strong expressions, the other said, "Don't you know what to do in such a case? Simply say that no spare parts are available and nothing can be repaired. Let it be repaired as you wish. Now we must obtain spare parts."

Such occurrences are very frequent. The army is not very fond of the police apparatus. This is evident in the entire regular army.

QUESTION: Did you have instances of personal encounters with leaders of the various anti-Soviet organizations created after the war in the Soviet Union?

First, I should like to say a few words about organizations going under the all-Russian flag, i.e., of Russian organizations. When I went to Vorkuta in 1950, a group of students of Moscow State University imeni Lomonosov went with me. This group consisted of young demobilized officers. There were a few soldiers. They had formed a small counter-revolutionary group without even a special name, with a very simple objective: to overthrow the Soviet regime. They no longer considered themselves Marxists. They wanted the conversion of the Soviet Union into a national state.

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QUESTION: Overthrow it by what means?

By revolutionary and combat means. This was a purely conspirative military group with all the attributes and characteristic features of such. Unfortunately it did not have adequate skill in regard to conspiracy. Finally, a traitor was found. Everyone received 25 years each and departed.

QUESTION: Was this group large?

I saw a few of them. As far as I know this group contained a few dozen men. Generally, there were a great many such groups. One thing in general was evident after the war: this was an ideological recoil and departure of Soviet academic youth from under the influence of the Communist Party. The rising academic generation has broken away or is attempting to break away from Marxism. This is especially strong among students of the philosophy faculties.

QUESTION: And what are their ideological aims?

These aims, it is necessary to say, are rather hazy. It is very difficult to speak of a developed ideology, So much the more so since I found them in the exile settlements in very difficult straits. But they all had one aspiration: the preservation of the unity of the Soviet Union, but on democratic principles, in order that the people might really have a genuine opportunity to govern themselves and to take some part in the government; transition to a lawful state; and, finally, the introduction of a number of reforms. Despite all differences, everything narrows down to <sup>one</sup> aim: the liquidation of the kolkhoz system, which they consider <sup>to be</sup> the basic evil of the Soviet State; and second<sup>ly</sup>, to get rid, finally, of state capitalism in the economic field, i.e. to give an opportunity to private initiative, within limits, of course.

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In regard to the concentration camps, they all, naturally, aim at complete liquidation of the latter. They feel that the concentration camps may be retained for a certain time only for the strongly pronounced criminal element. In the Soviet Union, unfortunately, this element, which is in no way reeducatable, is absolutely enormous. There is a vast number of professional criminals whom it is simply impossible to set free. As for the conviction, as a matter of principle, of all political enemies, all these individuals were opposed to it. It must be stated, of course, that in the Soviet Union there exist small opposition and even revolutionary groups which still have not broken with Marxism. These groups are encountered chiefly in student circles.

QUESTION: Of which cities?

In Moscow, in Leningrad, and in university towns of Siberia. To my personal knowledge, there are less of them in the Ukraine, where other groupings prevail. These people have not yet broken with Marxism. They believe that the world actually is progressing according to the Marxist theory, that the laws of changing formations, which Marx discovered, are unshakable and correct, and that Lenin carried out the correct policy, but with his death the predatory lawless Stalin regime distorted this line, and therefore, the entire task consisted in returning to the Leninist course. It is true that they have certain doubts. They do not picture Marxism at all as it is officially interpreted in the Soviet Union. Besides these small groups there are innumerable groups which have definitely broken with Marxism. This element is the most literate and most intellectual youth, often of the philosophy faculties, which simply had formally completed a course in logic, and from the point of view of logical construction and preparation, had proceeded to a criticism of Marx. It saw that what was written in this allegedly unshakable doctrine not only was <sup>not</sup> absolutely correct, and was not an unshakable

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law, but often contradicted the most common elementary human logic.

A criticism of Marxism developed in them. It is true their own ideological equipment is weak, because it is very difficult in the Soviet Union to fashion an ideology. It is impossible to print or write anything or to publish a single printed work in which the ideology of a given group is set forth. Nevertheless such clandestine works exist, and, as I was told, not only political ones. There allegedly exists unprinted in the Soviet Union a considerable amount of fictional literature, quite frequently by young authors, which simply cannot be printed because no publishing house will accept it. They go into the hands of [word illegible]... or simply they are kept hidden. There are a considerable number of unpublished poets, for example, who are far more talented than the official Soviet luminaries, not excluding Konstantin Simonov and others. The same situation prevails with political ideology. Nevertheless, the ideological equipment of all of these small groups is rather weak. These groups are usually transitory. They are broken up, convicted, and sent away to camps. But in spite of this, it must be said, they are not discouraged. The morale of all of them, especially the youth, is exceptionally cheerful and optimistic. They all believe that they will not be in confinement for long and during interrogations and under questioning they act very heroically and far more stably than the so-called older generation.

QUESTION: What is the attitude of both these imprisoned groups and the general mass of prisoners toward the idea of revolution and forcible overthrow of the present regime?

Youth and anti-Soviet groupings which do not belong to the category of those sailing under the Marxist flag believe that the overthrow of the Soviet regime can be accomplished only by means of force. They do not believe either in evolution or in gradual change. They know Soviet

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reality too well for this. Concerning Leninists, the Leninists often, I shall not undertake to state a general... they still believe in the possibility of preserving the Soviet regime and in particular in the possibility of reforms and evolutionary change. They frequently lay emphasis upon certain circles in the top echelon, ~~base~~ of the Soviet government, base themselves sometimes on Marshal Zhukov, sometimes on Molotov, sometimes on someone else, believing that these people will begin from above to effect a change in the Soviet regime in the direction necessary for them. As for those groups which have broken with Marxism, they generally take a sober view of things and they do not in any event count upon any help from above.

QUESTION: Did you or your friends encounter anti-Soviet literature there in the concentration camps?

No.

QUESTION: [How about] lists of any kind, leaflets, proclamations?

I heard of them, but I did not personally see any. I saw one man who told me rather vaguely that -- this was in 1954, approximately one year before, that is, about in 1953 -- he had come across an anti-Soviet leaflet. He was at that time still free. He was lying sick in the hospital. Exactly what was in the leaflet, he was unable to tell me. But doubtlessly such leaflets turn up, although in rather small numbers. However, I cannot say, for the Soviet people are very secretive and very disciplined in this regard; so I cannot say anything here.

QUESTION: What do you know of uprisings in the concentration camps of Vorkuta, Noril'sk, <sup>(C)</sup> and other places? What do they say about this in the camps?

I personally did not participate in uprisings because I [left?] Vorkuta [remainder of sentence not reproduced on photostat].

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I was suddenly taken to an "etap" [halting-place], and I thought I was going to an interrogation in Moscow; but I turned up here in the Mordovskaya system of camps of the river camp. Then soon after this came the death of Stalin. And after this there was a very ~~strained~~ <sup>tense</sup> atmosphere in the camp. It is necessary to say that during 1951-52 the situation in the camps in Vorkuta, as everywhere in general, became very much worse. Not only labor camp prisoners, who always wore numbers, but also ZK [?] prisoners, who previously had worn the designation of the given camp system, -- for example, as a prisoner of the MVD river camp in Vorkuta, I wore a letter "R" [in Russian, "P"] approximately ten centimeters in size on my left sleeve -- received numbers. This of course strongly embittered and discouraged everybody. They began to revert to what had been changed in about '44-'45-'46, namely, to lock up the barracks. Naturally, this was a terrible thing. The barracks were overcrowded with people and, as a rule, there is no bathroom in the barracks. To satisfy physical needs, a chamber-pot box is installed. There was a stench in the camp and in general this was a condition which weighed terribly against the everyday life of the prisoners. It was forbidden, when the barracks were unlocked, [to go] from one barracks to another, a restriction which, of course, strongly embittered the prisoners. All of these things brought about the ~~strained~~ <sup>tense</sup> atmosphere in the camps. Later, of course, the camp administration permitted itself a number of other measures, and at this time, beginning with 1951, wages for labor had been introduced, but they started to act very arbitrarily with the payments, i.e., they raised the norm so that in essence you earn and work but get nothing to show for it. Then, about 1953, as far as I know from eye-witnesses, a wave of uprisings broke out in Vorkuta and other places throughout the north. Properly speaking, the uprisings had not been prepared. The aim was only to demand that the [camp <sup>administration</sup> allow

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the prisoners to live as genuine human beings and that the letter of the law be observed. In view of the protest they at first stopped going to work; they formed committees, called in camp jargon, "po-khoroshemu" ["in a friendly way"], and wanted to talk with the administration. They began to request that representatives be sent from Moscow. The camp authorities at first became frightened; they tried to act as always by deception; by persuasion: "go to work," "don't worry", "disperse", "surrender the instigators and all the rest of you will be satisfied." Having already been tricked many times, the prisoners did not believe this. They ceased work and the mines actually stopped. Then reprisals began to be applied. A large number of mines were surrounded by troops. Machine guns and mortars were set up; in particular, such was the case at Mine 29... They opened fire. The total number killed in the northern part of European Russia who perished in the camps during this uprising is computed at 1500-2000 men. Approximately two or three times as many were wounded. The usual measures for suppression were applied beginning with shooting and ending in one camp, if I am not mistaken, in Camp 6 of the MVD river camp in Vorkuta. The camp was surrounded by a cordon of troops, about two battalions. There was no shooting; they suddenly cut the wire and from all sides stormed into the camp armed with hard objects and butt-stocks; i.e., they were armed but did not shoot, only beat up the prisoners unmercifully. Nearby was located the camp <sup>for</sup> ~~the~~ common criminals; those sentenced for criminal [i.e., non-political] crimes. They all went to the fence and watched what was happening. Then the Article 58 prisoners shouted, "What is the matter with you scoundrels?" - with stronger expressions - "they beat us and you watch?" The common criminals broke the fence, overturned it, burst into the camp, and attacked the wounded soldiers. Several scores of soldiers

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Yes, disturbances have been going on since then, flaring up periodically in different places. They ended in Vorkuta; later uprisings took place in camps of the so-called... although they were less intensive, and generally throughout the entire system of regimented camps and even the unregimented ones located along this very Vorkuta-Kirov railroad magistral in the so-called Komi ASSR, which is full of camp systems. These uprisings occurred also in Siberia, in the north. One Lettish physician, after his release told about them. These uprisings occurred in the North, if I am not mistaken, of the Obskaya Guba [Bay], in the north of the Yenisey, even further beyond the Arctic Circle than Vorkuta. There also was shooting here and many were killed. The authorities effected a number of reforms: numerals were abolished, the practice of locking the barracks was discontinued, prisoners were permitted outside the limits of the camp, a system of so-called "bezkonvoyniki" [unescorted prisoners] which had existed earlier in broader form, was instituted; their number was increased, and many prisoners were simply granted the privilege of living outside the limits of the camp, merely showing up to register, if I am not mistaken, at a police station or designated

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place; i.e., the authorities exhibited a tendency toward distinctly placating the prisoners. Since that time, uprisings in the camps have not ended but go on incessantly. The most recent uprisings of which I heard were in the summer of 1955, about May and June. I witnessed one somewhere in Siberia and another in the northern part of the Komi ASSR. On what scale, I cannot say exactly, because the number of people who had arrived from outside into the camps where I was, was very large. But in any case, uprisings occur continuously.

QUESTION: Please tell us of the hierarchial system which exists in the concentration camps. You mentioned prisoners of the Ts. K. [Central Committee?]. How do they differ, and in general, how is the administrative system as well as the distribution of prisoners according to the articles of the criminal code [and organized] in general what is the system of these....

As it is known, the Soviet Union is a nation of camps. The system is extremely large. In the first place, there are three [sic] categories of camps: regimented camps and unregimented camps. People sentenced under Article 58 for longer than a certain term, longer than ten years, go, as a rule, to the so-called regimented camps. There the routine is more strict. If a certain prisoner had made some slip, then he goes to the so-called double-regimented camp. There the routine is still stricter, with a large number of other drawbacks for the prisoner. If the prisoner in some way here, too... for example, committed some murder or periodically violates camp discipline and especially indulges in acts of violence [word illegible] upon prisoners but upon the camp administrative staff, then he may land in the so-called penal chain gangs. Such camps exist where prisoners go around all day long in shackles and upon whose personnel files appears the notation: "in case of slightest infraction, execute."

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I personally saw one such prisoner upon whose file this appeared. He saw it himself. He succeeded in getting out of it. Camps exist which are enveloped in complete silence. People sent to these camps do not have the right to correspond; they are simply crossed out of life. Materially, they do not live very badly in these camps, I believe. However, they do not work. These are small camps containing usually a few hundred men, but not more than 500. Where they are located, no one knows, for, while people serve time there, hardly anyone ever comes back. Then in another direction: from regimented camps it is possible to transfer to the unregimented. In a non-regimented camp, discipline is considerably more lax. Seeing relatives is permitted, i.e., your wife can come to visit you, and you can live with her for a certain period of time if you have been fulfilling the norms and are generally on good terms with the camp administration in regard to discipline. In such camps a special little house is built, the so-called "hotel" or "guest house." Of course, there are many other, unprintable, names [for it] in the camp. Some of them are not badly laid out, with tiny, separate cabins. Others, on the contrary, are very poorly laid out, where you and your wife have to live under the eyes of five or six other couples, which, of course, is very difficult and very unpleasant. Then there are camps with lax regimens. In these camps there is a very large percentage of so-called "bezkonvoynnye" ["unescorted"], who are privileged to go outside the camp to work without escort. There is a considerable number of other leniencies there. For example, very often volunteer artists visit there. From there permission is very simply given to live outside the borders of the camp. In some such camps there does not even exist a tower guard made up of service troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, but a so-called "samokhrana" ["self-defense"], made up of the prisoners

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themselves, keeps guard. It is true that this is by no means a pleasant thing, for quite often a very undesirable criminal element turns up in the guard.

"Katorzhane" are individuals sentenced.....If I am not mistaken, the ukaze concerning the introduction of penal servitude for especially hardened criminals was issued in 1942. It began to be applied in 1943, when the Soviet army, as a result of the general change in defensive operations ~~which~~ began to advance westward. At that time a great many penal laborers were made, and there was a general tendency to condemn to penal servitude individuals involved in crimes against the Soviet people, which consisted in murder, chastisement, and torture of Soviet citizens, i.e. military employees of police detachments under the authority of the German command, punitive organs, i.e., all persons whose activities, as a rule, were connected with the bloodshed of Soviet citizens. Of course, a vast number of the penal labor convicts had had no connection with murders, either directly or indirectly. A great many were condemned to penal servitude in '43-'44-'45 until '46-'47, when this type of sentence completely disappeared. The overall number of labor convicts initially amounted to 500,000-600,000 people. At the beginning their plight was severe as compared to the present time. A vast majority of them perished. These were the outcasts among all the prisoners. They were taken out to work with handcuffs on and taken away also with handcuffs; even worse for them were the food, the most brutal regimen, and the emphatically harsh and cruel treatment inflicted by the authorities and the guards. Today the situation of the labor convicts, in connection with the general leniency, is considerably ameliorated. Some have even had their sentences reduced. It is possible to be sentenced to hard labor only for 20 or 15 years. As far as I know, there is no other sentence. This, then, is the maximum. Labor convicts wear a

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number on their backs, caps, and right knees, which they are never allowed to remove. I know of a case of a convict--a certain sick convict traveled with me--who was being treated in connection with his obviously poor state of health and had arrived with me in the Mordovian system of camps of the Dubrava camp. Simply to amuse me, he threw his cap with the number on the front, out of the train; and in two days the cap was delivered to him in Gorkiy.....It had been found and picked up. His identity was traced through the number, and the cap was brought to him; the name of convict so-and-so had already been recorded, so that everything was done in order to..... the possible escape of prisoners. I [would not have believed] this, but I saw it with my own eyes.

QUESTION: How were the prisoners classified socially?

In regard to classes....It must be said that if we take the camp system as a state within a state in the Soviet Union, then the proportion of intellectuals in the camp is higher than on the outside. It is especially high, of course, in the labor and regimented camps, i.e. in the stricter camps, excluding, of course, the chain-gangs, where only criminals land, so it is very high. Thus, the more severe the penalty and the stricter the camp, the higher the number of intellectuals. Especially irreconcilable intellectuals, who had actually been involved in large scale crimes (political) or actual leaders of political parties are not sent to a camp but are kept in closed prisons or solitary confinement, if these are Soviet people. It is known, for example, that Sulinskiy and many others are in solitary confinement, but some are treated with special strictness--this is little known to anyone here--they are locked up in psychiatric hospitals. There are two of the latter: the psychiatric prison hospital in the city of Kazan', and a similar one in Kiev. As far as I know, these are the only two in the entire USSR. Here are sent political offenders who

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are really sick, although not all by far. I met several individuals who had been there; there had not been a single common criminal there, only political ones, and among the latter only the important ones. The mentally-ill political prisoners of minor importance are kept in the hospitals which exist in every camp system. The important people are confined in Kiev and Kazan', especially Kazan'. The former president of the Estonian republic, now probably dead, once was imprisoned there. Unfortunately, I have forgotten his name. Several Japanese generals, perfectly normal people, were confined there, I know; so were some German professors and in general people whom the Soviet regime considered important.

QUESTION: Are these people perfectly normal who are sent specially to the psychiatric hospitals?

<sup>they wish to send)</sup>  
If a person ~~wants to be sent~~ here, he can be sent simply to hide him. Of course, any prisoner, after having undergone suffering, is <sup>in</sup> a very nervous state; therefore, grounds practically always exist. In Moscow there is the so-called Institute imeni Serbskiy, to which all prisoners suspected of mental disease were sent for what is called in camp jargon, "komisovka," or simply a medical examination. Ordinarily the following Solomon's decision is made: "sick, but responsible for his own acts," i.e., if necessary, he can be placed in a psychiatric hospital as a sick person, but he is to answer for his own actions. I personally knew a German professor, with whom I was in a cell for three months, who had been in Kazan', and he related all this to me in detail.

A few additional words concerning psychiatric hospitals in Kazan': This is the place about which one high officer who had arrived here remarked, "It is very difficult to get into a prison psychiatric hospital in Kazan', but it is still more difficult to leave there." A man seldom

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leaves less than two years after his arrival. And it is necessary to say that a considerable number of prisoners, who were not mentally ill, virtually became so when they landed here. Everyone knows what it means for a sane person and what happens to him to be in the company of the mentally ill. In 1949 I served time in the Regimented Lefortovskaya prison in Moscow in cell 72 with a certain German Professor Schveleinern. He had earlier been involved in some kind of Bavarian separatist undertaking. In addition, he was a half-Jew, and after a long odyssey he crossed over to <sup>the</sup> Soviet demarcation zone in Poland in 1940. He received eight years for illegally crossing the border, and despite the fact that he openly announced that he was a half-Jew and that he had been oppressed by the Hitler regime and was coming over as a refugee, he was sent to Pechora, and something happened to his nerves. So he was sent to the psychiatric hospital in Kazan', where he spent the entire war between the Soviet Union and Germany; in 1949 he arrived in Moscow for the solution and investigation, i.e. reinvestigation, of certain problems. He told me of this most dreadful institution in which a large number of sane prisoners go out of their minds. In particular, there was a tendency there to place the sane and insane together. Even this professor Schueler [sic] had himself been in a difficult situation. He related a case he knew of some individuals who had lost their minds in this hospital. In this hospital, it is true, there is one privilege; everyone there has the right to say what he thinks. It is possible there, for example, to deliver anti-Soviet lectures. A man who is mentally ill is for that reason not liable to any punishment or repressions. True, a definite feature is introduced into the appropriate statements, according to which it follows that it is still impossible to discharge a certain person. There are occasional instances of persons being released from the hospital, but they are very rare. The death rate there is comparatively high, despite the fact that material conditions

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are not bad. People are kept there whom for some reason it is necessary to hide.

As for the system of closed prisons, rumors came into the camp that beginning in 1950 intensive construction of closed prisons took place throughout the Soviet Union. A great many of these were put up. The following individuals are kept in closed prisons: the most important political criminals, ideologically dangerous; leaders of anti-Soviet groupings and parties are usually kept permanently in central prisons right in Moscow, later in the so-called "Big House on the Mokhovaya" Street, and in others. There they live until they end their earthly existence, for to live a long time in a closed prison, even if so-called "good conditions" are created for you, is beyond human power. It is much harder than the camps. People of minor importance are not kept in central prisons; they are sent to closed prisons. Especially well-known among closed prisons is (1) the former Aleksandrovskiy central in Irkutsk; (2) the Vladimirovskaya prison; (3) the Tambovskaya prison; and several others. Also sent to the closed prisons are people who had committed serious crimes, i.e. a man commits <sup>in</sup> a camp crime, not of a minor category, such as, let us say, absence from work or breach of discipline, but he commits a camp murder. At the present time the penalty for camp murder, pursuant to the ukaze of 16 January 1953, is supposed to be, as for any murder, execution. Rarely, however, do executions for the murder of a camp prisoner take place. Sometimes executions are reported over the radio as a warning to prisoners, but anyone aware of how many murders are committed <sup>in</sup> camps knows that about ten percent, no more, are executed; and the remainder are sent for a certain <sup>period of</sup> time to closed prisons. The term is from one to five years. There are three categories in the closed prisons: One is kept in solitary confinement and is not sent out to work. This is most oppressive and terrible. One or two years is usually quite enough to break the physical or mental

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strength of even a very strong prisoner. The second category consists of those who are kept in a solitary confinement cell but who go out to work. The third and final category of prisoners is <sup>applied to</sup> those who live in common cells and who go out to work.

Besides closed prisons there also exist prisons for special prisoners. For example, in the Soviet Union there is a large number of servicemen not of the Soviet army, for instance, military personnel of the American army who had been serving in Germany and were abducted from here; also British and French. Almost no one ever sees these people anywhere. There are many rumors that they are in the interrogation prison at the Lyubyanka. One has been in a cell with someone; then his case has ended, and the man completely disappears. He should have landed in a camp, but he goes to another place somewhere. It is suspected that there are some special prisons for such abducted individuals and for unabducted foreigners.

QUESTION: Did you meet any Russians or Ukrainians from the Soviet Union who had been abducted here after the war?.....

Personally, I did not meet such people, if my memory does not <sup>be able to</sup> deceive me. Later, however, I think that I may fill this gap. But right now, frankly speaking, I cannot remember.

QUESTION: What do you think of the use in the future of concentration camps as a kind of base for an armed uprising for revolution?

The concentration camps are, of course, the Achilles' heel of the Soviet regime. The representatives themselves agree in this. Because, of course, this is an attempt to diminish the volume of concentration camps, it is determined by two factors: (1) The economic unfeasibility of concentration camps; despite the fact that many people believe that this is a cheap labor power, ~~there~~ there is a considerable number of precedent factors. Then, according to information of people totally unbiased and versed in this case—at one time I had <sup>met</sup> persons who until the time of their imprisonment had worked in the GULAG <sup>Main Administration</sup>

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of Camps<sup>7</sup> system--for every five prisoners, one employee is required from the moment that a person has been arrested, counting workers of the prosecutor's office, guards, etc. The guarding of the camps undoubtedly uses the million-man army of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. But everyone well knows that these troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs receive higher wages than the soldiers of the regular army. In spite of this, it is a known fact that in case of war the police troops always exhibit very low combat efficiency; because it is one thing to escort, guard, and watch prisoners<sup>and</sup> quite another thing, of course, to go under the enemy machine guns. The Soviet soldier is well aware that where any sort of military action is concerned, the MVD troops ~~are~~<sup>make</sup> very weak support. In addition to this, many of them fall under the influence of the prisoners. Unlike the camp guards, who, as a rule, oppose and hostilely treat the prisoners, the convoy guards merely say: "Behave yourself properly at work, do not try to escape, do not violate what it says in our rules, and do what you wish--we are not your enemies." I was often in a position, because of the fact that I worked in a laundry, where those poor soldiers, for a package of makhorka or a ruble or anything of small value, sometimes simply brought me something to wash, which, let us say, they could not get washed free, for which it was necessary to pay. I, of course, always fulfilled these requests and chatted with many of them. There was nothing hostile in their attitude toward the prisoners, On the contrary, they are all oppressed by their work and then even say that a manifestly hostile attitude<sup>which exists</sup> toward them on the part of girls and women of the villages is appreciable. One even expressed this in the following humorous sentence: "As long as I serve in the NKVD troops, I cannot approach a girl on any kind of a goat." That is exactly the way it was said.

They were oppressed by their status. They sense their inferiority in relation to soldiers of the regular army. So it is perfectly obvious that the concentration camps are the Achilles' heel of the Soviet system. In

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the event of serious military activities, it will be necessary to tighten up the system in the camps to such an extent and to dispatch such a huge number of people to guard them that a great amount of military and labor power will be dissipated. If, on the other hand, this is weakened, the fact is clear that chaos will ensue in the camps. In time of war, I know this from an informed source, it is possible, of course, to expect a great uprising in the camps. In the camps, generally speaking, sentiment is very radical, and many inmates say that at the first actual military shot starting another great war, ~~some~~ we, of course, would do everything possible. Words are just words, but in any event this sentiment exists.

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QUESTION: Does information concerning events in the Soviet Union penetrate into the camps?

Undoubtedly. The vast majority of prisoners are still in contact with relatives. It is true, letters are subject to censorship, but they are written quite openly. Sometimes in the letters rather free remarks at the expense of the regime are permitted. It is true, not at the expense of the regime--this is prohibited, it is a legal offense--but at the expense of individual representatives of the regime. For example, any local follower of Beriya not yet arrested is abused. Of course, this is not a Beriya follower but simply an ordinary Soviet roughneck; but it is insurance. In the camp everyone is very well informed of what goes on all over the Soviet Union. They are informed splendidly--even better than on the outside.

QUESTION: What was said concerning the dismissal of Malenkov?

The dismissal of Malenkov had been expected for a long time, and it was said that this, properly speaking, was an act of Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchev. Between them, it was alleged, were hostile feelings. It is true, ideas were vague concerning who represented what course. Some said that this was only personal enmity or a struggle for power. Others, however, said that Malenkov stood on a more moderate and liberal course. It was also said that Malenkov was hostile to Kaganovich, that he was an anti-Semite, and that in this respect he was a great friend of Marshal Zhukov and many others. Speaking of the reaction to the dismissal of Malenkov, I must say that in the camps people are seasoned and very skeptically disposed. No one believes everything entirely, and they say that if anything good is done for us, it is not for the sake of our looks or for humanity's sake, but because this is the way of things. The Soviet regime does not pardon anything and does not forget anything. Concerning the dismissal of Malenkov, it is said only that this indicates first a weakness of the regime, and then that it doubtlessly makes for a corresponding impression abroad. This testifies at least that the dictatorship is beginning to crack to some degree and that the same thing that happened after the death of V. I. Lenin is beginning. It is undoubtedly

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the developer of internal party strife. Truthfully speaking, just as little was expected from ~~Bulgaria~~ as from ~~Moscow~~. And nothing is expected these days. Far more is expected from the West. That is, when Dr. Adenauer arrived, everyone said that the situation of the Germans would certainly improve. And when it was said that the Soviet regime had ~~already~~ decided to release all Germans, no one believed it.

Conditions outside the camp, of course, interest everybody, because to leave the camp for freedom and to begin a normal life and routine is, of course, the dream of every camp inmate. Therefore inside the camp conditions on the other side of the barbed wire are highly interesting. The vast majority of prisoners are especially interested in the situation in the kolkhozes, for a large percentage of the prisoners belong to that class of the population which works and which worked in the kolkhozes prior to confinement. It should be said that after the death of Stalin the new government widely publicized a program for improving the situation in the kolkhozes. A whole series of these measures of the Soviet regime was drawn up and even begun to be put into operation. In particular, there began a period of colonizing and cultivating virgin and reclaimed lands. However, in spite of this, the situation in the kolkhozes remained absolutely unchanged. Not only does no one within the Soviet government discuss or think about the liquidation of kolkhozes, but there is even a tendency toward the curtailment of private plots. In particular, it was established that somehow private plots periodically swelled, just slightly, of course, at the expense of the kolkhoz lands. And then extremely stern telegrams and circulars were sent from the centers to the local areas to see whether these personal plots of kolkhoz workers actually conformed to the dimensions which they should have had according to the law. In the kolkhozes the conditions, of course, did not change. It should even be said, on the contrary, that the situation on the food front, generally speaking, became worse. It was established by the Government that the food base of the population of the Soviet Union had not yet attained the level



to which, properly speaking, it was supposed to correspond. For this reason, there was begun a whole series of campaigns for ~~the~~ increasing the productivity of kolkhoz production. This was reflected by the fact that--this news reached the camp--the kolkhoz members had to work even harder. A large number of authorized representatives of all kinds were sent to the kolkhozes. There even appeared cartoons in the Soviet periodicals of about 20 authorized representatives on a truck who, after having issued a whole mass of all kinds of orders, are leaving the kolkhoz, and at the time are singing the well-known song, "Live Richly, and We Will Leave for Home, for Home." In the kolkhozes, the situation did not change.

As for the situation of the ordinary people in factories and plants, it is just the same there as in the past. Employees, and especially the workers, are constantly harassed by all sorts of labor watches: a watch in honor of the November holidays, a watch in honor of Artillery Day, etc. A plant worker must, in addition, work off a great deal of the time, on a voluntary-compulsory basis.

QUESTION: Didn't the people begin to act and speak somewhat more freely after the war?

At the beginning, about from 1945 to 1947, the people did speak very freely, as, perhaps, never since the birth of the Soviet regime. But in 1948 there began [last three words of sentence illegible] A wave of arrests occurred, and everyone saw that everything was as it had been in the past and that it was necessary to hold his tongue. After the death of Stalin, people began to talk again. However, today in 1955, the intention is evident and the tendency already exists, as it is said in camp jargon, to "tighten the screws." There is no doubt that in recent times the number of arrested persons has again been growing. I spoke with some, and they indeed said that a wave of arrests [word illegible] as before. After the death of Stalin, people began to speak more freely, but only in a certain plane. Strictly speaking, it is not so necessary to eulogize a dictator no longer alive. But any criticism, of course, of measures of the government--I speak of an actual criticism--is absolutely impossible. Everywhere in the papers

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it is written that criticism is suppressed and that it is not permissible to criticize. But by criticism is meant only the case where, behind the scenes, appropriate documents are given to a person and he is told, "Here, you must criticize this one and that one."

No one, of course, dares to come out personally with a genuine and serious criticism. The question, of course, is of self-criticism. They do not criticize but vituperate. That's the way things are. I know, for example, that a large number of officers from our camp engaged in the camp administration,.....the chief of the regime [sic] was subjected, at the railroad station of the village of Yavyas near our camp, to harsh criticism for maltreatment of prisoners. It was said here that the Beriya times had not ended. In general, both prisoners and outsiders make use of the name of Beriya. "Listen you, these are not Beriya times; they are over." A prevalent expression is "soon you will get the Order of Beriya." This means you will either be executed or be exiled somewhere to serve a sentence. Well, that is the situation.

QUESTION: When you were returning to the West, were you able to meet any of the free people?

Yes, at the time that our train traveled for six days<sup>to Germany</sup>, we mingled with the people. First they told us that we on the outside of the camp were now free people. We went out. A buffet was set up. Everyone immediately rushed to drink and chat. The populace was not afraid to chat with us. Apparently there were no special injunctions. We came closer and talked. As we went along, badly dressed women and children approached our train at many stations and begged us to give them a piece of bread, since the majority of us were [well-] supplied. The militia stood by and said nothing. The majority of us were supplied with articles from packages received from Germany. I personally was monitor of the car, and therefore all the bread for about 50 men was at my disposal. I consulted with my comrades about how much could be given. They said: Well, give it all! <sup>So,</sup> ~~Well,~~ each one cut off several slices for himself. That's the way the bread was distributed, generally speaking, in every station.

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QUESTION: Did you meet many of these begging women and children?

Not so very many, but not too few. In any case they were everywhere. Poorly dressed. And everywhere the population would run up to sell something.

QUESTION: How were the people dressed?

The people are dressed rather unpresentably.....apples and so forth [apparently an expression of some sort] If, for example, you pay them, let us say a ruble, they thank you sincerely. It is evident that a ruble has great importance for them.

QUESTION: What do they bring out to sell on the market?

They usually bring to the market to sell what grows on their private plots, or that which belongs directly in their homes, such as fruit. Milk I did not see. They often bring hard-boiled eggs. Milk, I, generally speaking, did not see in a single station. But I saw fruits, pears, apples, often of rather fine quality. They are usually rather expensive. Good apples cost five rubles a kilogram. This, of course, is very expensive.

QUESTION: Didn't you have occasion to go into any of the Soviet stores and shops?

Yes, when our train traveled around Moscow. Then I went into a small shop. There, generally speaking, everything sells at the usual prices. It is true that such articles as, for example, butter, were very quickly snapped up, because customers upon whom no one counted, had arrived; that is, a trainload of several hundred people, who were rushing to buy up everything. In general, in every store in the Soviet Union, as a rule, there is always a shortage of something. For example, if there is butter, there is no sugar. If there is sugar, there is no butter, but there is a fat mixture. So, from this circumstance it would not happen apparently in a single ~~store~~ <sup>community</sup> that there would be white bread, butter, fuel oil, fat mixture, and sugar, at the same time. Such a combination occurs very rarely.

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In general, the food situation, in spite of all attempts to raise the productivity of agriculture, is not improving. All kinds of rumors circulate. They say that great transports go into China and other places, and that great reserves are being created in case of a military clash.

QUESTION: How do the Soviet citizens evaluate the present period of smiles, the "Geneva" Spirit," and the period of coexistence?

Soviet citizens are skeptical. Those who sympathize with the Soviet regime say: "Our leaders are doing a good job and are leading the Westerners by the nose." Those who do not sympathize say: "Here, fools, what they don't understand in the West is that they are simply being led by the nose and deceived." And with some fears they say: "Nevertheless, it is clever the way our leaders are conducting their policies." No one in the Soviet Union, neither the intelligent, nor the stupid, nor the old, nor the young, believes in honorable intentions. Only a few speak of this deception with enthusiasm, so to speak; others speak with indignation or anger, depending on their political leanings.

QUESTION: Did you have occasion en route west to meet people who wished to tell you something in parting?

When our train stopped on a siding of Byelorussian Station in Moscow, I, with all the Germans, of course, rushed to explore Moscow. It is true, the leader of our train, a very humane officer, apparently of the regular army, who treated us very well, said: "Don't go far. At two o'clock the train leaves." But apparently the order had already been given or an agreement was reached with the administration of the station and with all police precincts that Germans dressed in burshlag, in camp jackets, distinguishable from all, could be allowed everywhere. They let us pass onto the platform; the people approached and chatted in German. Those who knew Russian spoke. Everyone expressed regret that there was no war, but one little old man, perhaps a little drunk, declared, "Yes, yes, sure, he says, they are going to the West. Soon they will come with machine-guns to the East." I remembered this sentence. I, I must say, was even a little frightened. After this, he disappeared.

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QUESTION: What do you know of the possibility of a military clash between the Soviet Union and the West?

When I was arrested and found myself in prison, in the MGB's so-called interior prison on Dzerzhinskiy Square or simply the Lyubanka, everyone in this sad plight, of course, hoped for war, as a drowning man clutches at a straw. For example, the small bulbs in the ministry suddenly began to be painted blue. This was, of course, interpreted as: "Look, look, the war is starting." This was eight years ago. Subsequently, when we landed in the camps, all the camp inmates, naturally, <sup>seeing</sup> the complete futility of counting on anything and of hoping for anything, counted upon war, especially during the lifetime of Stalin. But everyone said that..... real basis. Everyone in the camps well knew that in the Soviet Union a vast armaments program was being carried out, and that everything is being done for war. People talked about <sup>this</sup> Newly arrived ex-soldiers, recently arrested civilians, spoke. For example, they said that the Soviet regime was developing a very special system for waging warfare, <sup>and that</sup> in particular, ~~that~~ strange as it seems, a military doctrine personally defended by Stalin and Voroshilov themselves prevailed among organs responsible for preparations, namely, the doctrine of partisan warfare; on the assumption that huge masses of the enemy would invade the Soviet Union, it would therefore be necessary for saving the apparatus to flee into the forests. They said that great reserves of food and weapons had been compiled in wooded regions, especially in the Siberian taiga; and that in every region bases were being created to which all reliable people would flee in the event of an enemy break-through in this area, in order to fight from there with the same methods with which they fought the Germans and precisely because the hostile military unit which is victorious in this region will undoubtedly step on the toes of the population, will undoubtedly disappoint it, and will undoubtedly create dissatisfaction, and that these malcontents will have a center in which to operate. They said that the critical food situation was caused by the huge reserves that were being

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compiled. The great constant shortage of fuel in which the kolkhozes found themselves was explained by the fact that everywhere through<sup>out</sup> the country depots of fuel, food, ~~and~~ grain, and medicines were being created, according to an entire fixed system. Let us say the capture of some areas by enemy armed forces does in no way denote a loss of these areas for the Soviet Union. Preparation for war went on constantly. Everyone said that if Stalin had not died, there would have been war either by 1953 or by the end of 1954, and that the Soviet Government did not want to give in and was going to war directly. At the same time, they spoke of a grandiose [word illegible] blow at the West.

Now they say that the new government takes a more sober view of things and is of the opinion that the Soviet Union is incapable of waging war. It would be too dangerous. The Soviet Union realizes quite well that it does not have the sympathy of the great bulk of the people and that if war broke out, the Soviet Union would have to wage it against a powerful coalition. This will not be against Germany, which with several allies was pounced upon by the coalition of world powers. In this case, the Soviet Union will be surrounded on all sides by enemies. The only salvation for us here is the support of the population.

QUESTION: What about China?

The sentiment of the satellites is thoroughly defined. There is talk of extremely anti-Soviet sentiment in Poland. When our train passed through Poland, it was rather strange. Many Poles waved and talked of several things. The Poles were quite courteous to the Germans.

It is necessary to say that China is not, of course, a war power. Secondly, two Chinese worked with me, who spoke simply; I became friendly with them. They were very decent people. One of them was a very cultured man. They said that in China all whites were disliked, and, in particular, the Russians, and that even Mao Tse-tung was not much of a russophile. He wants to use the Soviet Union and if a world revolution is to be achieved under red banners, let the center of the world revolution be in Peking and in no event in Moscow.

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QUESTION: What in the minds of the camp inmates was the most detestable feature in the Soviet Union?

The feature most detested by the Soviet population was of course the fact that the entire country, speaking figuratively, was being crushed by the boots of the police, this terrible, all-knowing police regime, distrustful of everyone, evoking thereby the most colossal hypocrisy, where a person was not safe from denunciations even in his own family. There was a famous case where a man was subjected to repression and only later did he find out that his own wife, who had taken offense at him for something or for nothing, had denounced him. In general until very recently, the entire Soviet Union was ruled by the political apparatus. No one ~~was~~<sup>takes</sup> the risk of falling out with the State Security Committee, as it has since been called, following the downfall of Beriya. A large factor is the fact that a vast majority of the most well-known women in the Soviet Union, such as movie actresses, athletes, etc., have all married high officials of the former Ministry of State Security. In this regard well-informed people living in Moscow and moving in these circles, say that not one dared to refuse because no one dared to quarrel with.....the police apparatus. Police domination was the first condition hated by the people; the second, of course, was the fact that the people were in a state of subjugation. Everyone must do what he is compelled to, always necessarily bad for him. But all the time the sword of Damocles of some campaign is hanging over you. Expeditions to the virgin lands, transfers to other work--all this is done very politely, sometimes even in a civilized manner, frequently even with the observation of material interests, but done just the same. So go to Chukotka, go to.....that is, you are not free. One has to be clever somehow.

In the field of economics, everyone sees that the Soviet Union lives worse than the West. Much worse. Reports arrived, for example, of the striking prosperity of West Germany. Somehow this is known. Where there were Germans in camps, where packages arrived, and

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were partially placed on sale, at which time it was explained ~~for~~ what a chocolate bar really cost in kopeks, Everyone was completely astonished and said, "How is that?" A country which had fought the entire world for six years, totally devastated, transformed by us into a heap of rubble, suddenly after only ten years has gone so far as to become the richest state in Europe? How could this have happened? Why are we in such a critical economic plight?

QUESTION: How do the prisoners regard the limit of existence of the Soviet regime? How long do they think this will continue and what limiting concessions can the Soviet regime make?

The prisoners all believe that the limit of existence of the Soviet regime will be a great war. That's what all the prisoners believe. As for concessions, they all boil down to the fact that concessions will be directly proportional to the pressure which will be exerted tomorrow. The greater the squeeze, the more they will be inclined to make concessions, so that if the West actually starts to exert serious pressure, the Soviet regime will make every concession.

QUESTION: Is it true that in recent times there have begun to be fewer informers in concentration camps? And are the prisoners taking measures of physical action?

The camps are always permeated with a so-called subordinate network of operupolnomochennyye [operational authorized agents(?)], or so-called camp "Stukachi" of all ranks. Methods of physical action upon them always were employed and are employed now in, of course, a lesser degree. Execution for camp murder was introduced, but this did not stop "seksots" from being murdered, and does not stop it to this day. Of course, this does not occur on the same scale as, for example, 1944-5-6-7-8. As for their reduction, that is noticeable only in camps under special conditions. In particular, in the camp where I was, there was a great number of foreigners who were being repatriated. Here they [i.e. seksots]

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were not needed, because the camp operational authorized agent is totally uninterested in the thoughts of a German, who in any event would be outside the borders of the Soviet Union within a week. However, "stukach"<sup>(system)</sup> did not disappear but still goes on. Particularly interesting, of course, are the attitudes of Soviet citizens in the camps and especially the preparations for such things as, for example, camp uprisings, escapes, etc.

QUESTION: You mean people escape from the camps?

They do. But not many Article 58 prisoners escape. Only those convicted for common offenses escape in large number, because they are helped by an organization of "blatnyye" [roughly "outlaws"], embracing the entire Soviet Union. They have allies in every city, where they can find shelter. To escape without the aid of any organization is almost hopeless. For foreigners, of course, this is particularly difficult.

QUESTION: Please tell us about the religious feelings of the Soviet people in concentration camps.

In the camps there are very many religious believers, undoubtedly as many as on the outside. Besides the Orthodox, there are in the camps also representatives of other religious sects, for example, Baptists, so-called Seventh Day Adventists, True Christians, later Evangelists, and many others. There are also Methodists. I even encountered one lone Stundist. This is quite rare. These people are very intensive believers possessed of the typical traits of small religious groups, sticking close, helping one another out, holding themselves aloof from the general mass, and steadfastly adhering to their views. It is necessary to say that representatives of the Orthodox clergy, and of Soviet citizenship, who have been sentenced to camp, adhere to their views with special staunchness. There are not too many of these. In general, the clergy as a class of society has strongly decreased in number in the Soviet Union. It is characteristic, however, for those who land in prison to behave more or less individually; while the sectarians constitute<sup>a</sup> a very expressed political organization, the representatives of the Orthodox clergy act

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alone with extraordinary steadfastness and heroism. Many from the ranks of the representatives of the sects, when a matter comes to a serious clash with the camp administration, usually acquiesce at the end. Materially they live very well. They help themselves. But I know of several instances of perfectly inflexible conduct on the part of the Orthodox clergy; in particular, on the part of one priest whose name I do not know, who did not go ~~did not go~~ to work and was ultimately shot.

QUESTION: Tell about the attitude of the nonreligious segment of the prisoners toward the believers.

It is of two types. There is no hostile attitude. There is no malice or indignation. Nonreligious people as, for example, the representatives of the Communists regard them as an undesirable anachronism. Oh, they are ignorant people; they don't know anything; they navigate under old sails. But there are no bad ones among them. They even make interesting conversation. Indifferent people are treated indifferently. As for the basic mass, when a pious man appeared, he was treated with respect in camp and became the subject of intensive inquiries.

QUESTION: From what age groups are the religious-minded composed?

Believers are from every group. It is necessary to say that there are many religious-minded youths in the camps, but they believe in a manner completely different from the older people. Whereas the older generation believes more in ritual and dogma--they pray and cross themselves considerably and conduct frequent religious services, as for example, Easter services. I myself attended an Easter service this year, during which the doors were locked and no guards were allowed in until it was over; everyone went away so as not to cause a scene--the youth believes less dogmatically, prays less, but more philosophically and consciously, i.e. the philosophical and methodic side of religion interests them more than the ritual side.

QUESTION: Were there many prisoners at the service this Easter?

Many were not able to be. They stood inside. This was done in a so-called "Chinese Kitchen." In camp jargon a "Chinese kitchen" is a kitchen where prisoners have the right to cook their own products. This was a small building located off the regular kitchen. There is a stove

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and a man to keep the place in order, and there you can cook for yourself what you want from your own products. So that is where the Easter service was held at night. Many stood outside. Even foreigners attended, Yes, there were many.

QUESTION: What is this KGB--State Security Committee? What is its role? What is the structure of its organs? Are there KGB representatives in local areas? Is there a low-level network, or is this only a committee which regulates the whole system of state security, troops, KGB, etc.?

The State Security Committee in my opinion is merely a title given to the former Ministry of State Security, if I am not mistaken. It has simply been revived. Frankly, the people who know say that nothing has changed. The Ministry of State Security simply received a new label. It has ceased to be a separate ministry. Work in the camps [word illegible] the same as on the outside. Absolutely all types of work are available. Everything that is done on the outside is also done in the camp, the only difference being that in the regimented camps they work longer, usually ten hours, while in the nonregimented camps, eight hours, and under one pretext or another, it is less well-paid. The prisoners have fewer rights. The nature of the work depends on where the camp is located. In Vorkuta a vast number of the prisoners work, for example, in mines, because this is a coal region. Another part works on the surface. These are types of work which [remainder of sentence illegible]. There is very intensive building activity in Vorkuta. This is perhaps the hardest type of work. [Remainder of <sup>Paragraph</sup> ~~another~~ almost entirely illegible]

QUESTION: Let us return once more to the political enemies of the Soviet regime in concentration camps. Are they distinguishable in any way among the general mass of prisoners? What sustains them--what idea--what belief? Are they bound to one another more closely than the common criminals, and do they have discussions with one another on political topics, arguments

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of a theological or philosophical nature, and do they abandon or defend their own opinions before those with contrary opinions, etc? And also tell about those people -- without names -- whom you met and who had been here abroad and also about those who landed directly from the Soviet Union into prison.

It is necessary to say that in the camps they speak far more freely than they do on the outside. Frankly, they are far less afraid. Say a man has 25 years; that is the limit. What more can be done to him? He can, for example, be sent away to a closed prison, but if everyone who says something is sent away, soon the entire population of the camps would be enclosed in prisons. What is necessary is only to avoid making big scenes. For example, it is impossible to assemble a meeting, as one abnormal old man did, and to begin to chant the old anthem "God Save the Tsar." After this he, of course, disappeared from the camp. But generally speaking, groups of people who trust one another gather and talk about all subjects. It should be mentioned that, strange as it seems, I completed my studies in the camps. for, no matter what you were interested in, you were able to learn everything. You could take a university course in any field, although in raw form. You could, for example, almost acquire a knowledge of engineering as long as there was the desire. It is very hard and difficult, but with a certain amount of tenacity, will-power, and persistence, it is fully possible. Arguments on ideological subjects are held very, very intensively. And they are held not only by those who belong to the various political groups but by absolutely everyone. There are also camp propagandists -- people who belong to political groups, no matter which ones, they always try to drag the other prisoners into their circle. Thus, purely ideological battles frequently took place. In the camp this is very simple. Let us say the discussion concerned German concentration camps, then immediately

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it is recalled who among the Germans here had been a concentration camp overseer. He is summoned here. Then, let's say, a Jew who had been imprisoned in this concentration camp is summoned. And they peacefully drink tea on a ~~bunk~~ and we all listen as they discuss what had happened in the camps -- one from the point of view of a prisoner doomed to death and the other from the point of view of an overseer. They chat quite peacefully, without any malice, for all hatred is manifested, of course, against those who are keeping them in the present camp. Strange as it seems, the relations between Germans, former members of the Nazi Party, and Jews is generally very good. Arguments are held. For example, attempts often occur in the camps to find a middle neutral course. Representatives of the various anti-Soviet groups attempt to fashion some kind of ideology in the camp. Everyone has plenty of time; there is no hurry; they are serving a very long time, they figure that if in five or ten years you will be released by some sort of amnesty, you will go out more or less politically learned and equipped. Great interest is shown in camp to people of intelligence, to the politically learned and interested, and to those who know something. No intelligent camp inmate can complain that he has no audience. This, of course, is somewhat dangerous, because frequently questions are broached which, since they are posed by simple people, are completely naive but usually very difficult to answer. The politically-minded prisoners do not discontinue their work in the camps. On the contrary, they conduct it far more intensively and with far less danger than on the outside. There is nothing more to lose, and <sup>the</sup> ~~an~~ audience is far more grateful. Particularly heated battles occur between opponents of the regime and those in camp who continue to support it. I am speaking, of course, of that self-seeking element which pretends that it is loyal to the Soviet regime in order to obtain some nice little position, such as, let's say, that of

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bookkeeper, supply clerk, a clerk, etc. I am speaking of those who actually defend the Soviet regime sincerely -- there are such persons. This was usually a very unfortunate scorned element, pitied by all, of old ideological Communists of whom there was a very large percentage in the camps -- from the old Lenin guard and so-called Lenin set of the NEP period. There are a specially large number of them. They had spent their entire lives in the struggle for Communism, and, of course, do not possess the mental strength to judge values, to acknowledge that what they had struggled for and defended was in the end worth nothing, that all the blood spilled and their own crippled lives had really been sacrificed for nothing and that the price of their blood was negligible. For that reason they cling to their old ideology. But these are tragicomical characters; for example, the argument ends on the note that "you are 20 years behind the times." An ideological struggle, of course, takes place. But everyone realizes that this element of old ideological Communists was completely harmless. They were an anachronism, a bygone element. Far more dangerous are the silent self-seekers who in reality are not Communists but opportunists. They were opportunists both on the outside and inside the camps. In general camp life is a complete copy of life on the outside, except that everything is far poorer, stricter, and more limited.

QUESTION: Did you not attempt to test the idea of solidarity among your fellow prisoners?

I spoke to the prisoners on the idea of solidarity, as much as I know of it, of course, in approximately the condition it was ten years ago. It is necessary to say that it evoked the manifest interest of the prisoners. But the fact is that, like anyone not possessed of materials and cut off from the surrounding world, I was deprived of my stature because I alone did not possess the power to promote the idea of solidarity

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by myself. Concerning the development and advances which it made during my absence, I of course knew nothing. Many are sympathetic to our idea and say directly that the idea of this compulsory collectivism should really be replaced by the idea of voluntary solidarism. With several persons whom I could trust, I endeavoured to set forth briefly the program of labor solidarism from the aspect of its practical application. For example, the idea of replacing the compulsory kolkhozes which are now being simply converted into state agricultural dominions, for the process of expanding the kolkhozes, begun during the time of Stalin and not halted to this day, goes on continuously. Later the kolkhoz workers are deprived of any opportunity to participate in the administration of the kolkhozes. Of course, since the time that several secondary schools were created for training kolkhoz chairman, i.e., a kolkhoz chairman is transformed simply into an academically-educated bureaucrat, he loses all ties with the kolkhoz members. I spoke on this subject and also of the fact that a replacement of kolkhozes is contemplated, juridical permission to leave the kolkhoz; the kolkhoz simply.... in normal state, and beyond this the people themselves must decide voluntarily. He who wants to cultivate the land collectively has the right to establish, together with those who want this, a type of agricultural cooperative, but on fully voluntary principles, and from the view point of benefit to the coop member rather than for the benefit of the government alone. The idea of dividing up the kolkhoz into, let us say, farmsteads, meets with great support. Many say, however, that most kolkhoz youth have grown out of the habit of cultivating the land by themselves and that it is no longer so simple now. The older generation is still able to do so. But the modern kolkhoz youth has become used to considering himself a kolkhoz worker, not a landowner.

And in regard to industry, everyone fully realizes that factories and plants belonging to the workers have been converted into nothing

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but enormous, state-political enterprises, which are directed by bureaucrats, and the lion's share of the profits, which do not, of course, fall into the hands of the workers but go in far greater and sharper form than in capitalistic states for the benefit of the State, that is, in outrageous quantities....into the hands of the dozen individuals who control the entire country. The idea of the possibility of turning over part of the enterprises and plants to interested people on a concession basis meets with great interest, especially the authorization of private enterprise in order that, for example, every person might have the opportunity to establish and personally manage his own private business. It is asked, "Well, that's fine, but where will the funds be taken from?" When you say that, of course, the State will simply mutually allocate the appropriate funds out of State funds and that at least all light industry must be turned over to private hands; that competition must be established in order to reduce prices; and to create that state of affairs in which economic crises are so successfully overcome in the West, i.e., private and personal <sup>interest</sup> before everything, with the retention of the most important key enterprises of heavy industry in the hands of the future national state. [above not complete sentences in original Russian]

QUESTION: Can you tell us anything of the counterrevolution<sup>any</sup> in Soviet terminology - or the revolution<sup>any</sup> from our point of view -- organizations in the army?

No. Unfortunately, I cannot say anything.

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